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ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD.

FOR CAPTN BRENTON'S NAVAL HISTORY.

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THE

NAVAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE YEAR

MDCCLXXXIII TO MDCCCXXII.

BY

EDWARD PELHAM BRENTON, Esq.

CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

VOL. III.

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PREFACE.

In compiling and publishing a Naval History of Great Britain, during a period which may justly be termed the present day, many of the principal characters being still in existence, I was fully aware of the difficulties I had to encounter, and that I could not, consistently with the truth, relate each event so as to meet the approbation of all concerned; and I declared myself ready to admit that, notwithstanding the great opportunities I had enjoyed for obtaining the most correct information, I was still liable to error.

Since the publication of my first volume, I have learnt, with sincere regret, that, in relating the transactions of 1794, I had wounded the feelings of Admiral Sir George Montagu, an officer for whose character and conduct I had, with many of my brother officers, publicly testified my respect. That such injury was unintentional, those to whom I am known will readily believe; and as I am convinced, by the publication of the orders under which he acted, that I have been led into error, I most cheerfully make that reparation which is due to Sir George Montagu, to the public, and to myself.

In the first volume, p. 296, I have stated, that the Rear-admiral returned into port because he

came close upon the track of the French fleet; and this I believed, until I was convinced to the contrary by the publication of official documents. Admitting this error, I must also assert, that neither did I at the time of writing this observation mean, nor can it, according to my present construction, imply, any censure on the Rear-admiral, even in the absence of such orders, for seeking a reinforcement when in proximity with a force so much superior, or endeavouring to communicate important intelligence to his Commander-in-chief.

In p. 298, I have said, "that all in the British squadron expected the signal to engage, and that, though the Rear-admiral was not bound, with that disparity of force, to bring on a general action, other officers under similar circumstances might have done so." That the natural ebullition of feeling, so predominant in English seamen when in presence of an enemy, and unrestrained by any weight of responsibility, should have manifested itself on this occasion is not surprising, nor ought the relation of it to have inflicted any pain on the Admiral. Almost every officer has witnessed with delight this display of national feeling; although, as the brave Cornwallis expressed it, prudence would not admit of "letting loose their valour." Such was the impression on my mind in contemplating those by whom I was surrounded, and I am sorry that the mention of the circumstance should have led Sir George Montagu to suppose I meant thereby to impute blame to him; equally

do I regret that the Admiral has given a different construction from what I intended to the latter part of that passage.

In relating circumstances and drawing conclusions at a later period, our opinions will necessarily receive a bias by more recent events; and it was the contemplation of that romantic spirit of enterprise, unknown to former days, and so prominently displayed by a Nelson and a Saumarez, which elicited the remark. The remaining part of the same paragraph will prove that I had no intention of reflecting on the Admiral, for I have said, "Had the fleet under Lord Howe been in sight, even at any distance, there can be no doubt of the line of conduct which would have been pursued;" clearly intimating that the attack was only declined from a sense of duty, and that he would not have hesitated in making it, could he thereby have enabled the Commander-in-chief to destroy the fleet of the enemy.

In p. 299, I have said, "that the Rear-admiral quitted his station and returned to Plymouth, and on the day, or nearly about the same time, that he took this unfortunate step, the French squadron, of four sail of the line and one hundred and seventy sail of merchantmen, got safe into the ports of the Republic."

I cannot still term this measure otherwise than unfortunate, politically speaking, as the capture of that convoy would have been a severe blow to the French republic; but as it appears, by the

official letter of Mr. Stephens, that the conduct of the Rear-admiral met with the approbation of the lords commissioners of the admiralty; he must be considered as fully absolved from any blame for returning into port. The same letter effectually removes the idea, with which I had been impressed, of "Lord Chatham, and the board of admiralty, having imputed blame to the Rear-admiral, and that he was ordered or permitted to strike his flag." I must at the same time, in making this admission, be allowed to explain how I formed this conclusion.

It is no doubt in the memory of many officers, who served at that period, that considerable discontent was manifested at the safe arrival of Admiral Villaret's fleet, and the American convoy; and as the Rear-admiral at the same time hauled down his flag, the events were associated as cause and effect in the mind of the public. Such I own was my opinion, and as such I deemed it my duty to relate it: but, however I may lament having wounded the feelings of Sir George Montagu by the statement, I have the consolation to think, that a beneficial result has arisen from it, inasmuch as doubt is made to give way to certainty.

The opinion of the Earl of St. Vincent was introduced to shew, that if such was the real cause of Sir George Montagu's being deprived of his command, such censure was considered unmerited by that nobleman, to whom I looked up as high

authority. What other object could I have had in recording such a sentiment, than as a redeeming clause to the preceding paragraph? The strongest test by which the truth of such an assertion can be tried, is to consider in what light the words, "that the Rear-admiral had been hardly dealt with," would have been received, had he been ordered to strike his flag through the displeasure of the admiralty? Surely it would have appeared the effort of a friend, to support a reputation unjustly assailed; and as such I sincerely declare it to have been intended by me.

I make no reply to the numerous unjust accusations which have been brought against me; and the remarks which follow are not intended in the slightest degree to renew or to allude to the subject.

I pass over the remarks in the New Edinburgh Review, as unworthy of notice. Facts are not to be concealed by ignorance or distorted by misrepresentation—the Public is enabled to judge for itself, and to its decision I cheerfully appeal. Impartial, and unbought criticism is what every author has a right to expect; but it is surely unjust and absurd to deny him the advantage of youthful memory or retrospective judgment. Of a regular classical education I never could boast; my life, from the age of thirteen, has been devoted to naval duties, and, in the intervals of active service, to mental improvement. If local and professional knowledge, if acquaintance with actions

and most of the men who performed them, will not atone for grammatical inaccuracies or the want of elegant construction, I throw myself on the mercy of my readers.

The labour, the anxiety, and the loss of health, which I have sustained in the progress of this work, no one but myself can appreciate; my consolation is that, with all its faults, it is more likely to do good than harm, and that nothing will be found in it contrary to the real interests of my country, or of the naval profession.

I have been censured for giving opinions, and for relating facts, which it is said should have been buried in oblivion. Such conduct would have been a shameful dereliction of duty; in one case I fear I may have incurred enmity, in the other I should have merited contempt. Public opinion on the merits of all naval actions, received its final and irrevocable stamp by the sentence of the court-martial on Sir Robert Calder. It has often been observed, that he who writes the history of his own times must, if he does his duty, make himself enemies. If I had suppressed some important observations, I might have been justly accused of partiality; while, at the same time, I should have withheld the moral of history, and failed to deter from misconduct by concealing the deformity of bad example.

I can do no more than correct errors wherever they are pointed out, and make all the amends in my power to wounded feelings; and with this

concession, I am more fearful of being accused of flattery than severity. The attainment of truth has ever been my greatest object, but this is often denied to the most persevering efforts.

On one very important occasion I experienced the full force of this assertion. I applied to a brother officer who was present and saw the fact, of which I was doubtful; his evasive answer is now in my possession, "No one believes it." Not satisfied, I applied to another, who, with still more powerful motives for concealing it, candidly owned that I was correct: but for this last evidence, I was on the point of blotting it from my work, with every apology for its insertion.

Justice to some officers who are dead, and to others who are still living, demands reparation for apparent neglect. The late Captain John Elphinstone, who commanded the Glory on the 1st of June, is acknowledged by all who were present, to have conducted himself in the most becoming and gallant style in that action.

In the battle of Copenhagen, in 1801, the plate, as drawn by the late Rear-admiral William Bligh, is, in some measure, erroneous; the vacant positions, marked 1, 2, and 3, should have been filled by the frigates Amazon, Blanche, and Alcmene, which were in a right line ahead of the Defiance, and engaged the Crown batteries.

Captain (now Vice-admiral) Alexander Frazer, who, in the late war, commanded the Shannon, of thirty-eight guns, should have been named as one

of our most diligent and successful cruisers, having, in a very short time, captured three of the enemy's largest privateers, with many vessels of smaller note.

Since the appearance of the first and second volumes, the noble and venerable officer, to whom they are dedicated, has ended his earthly career. I have the satisfaction to reflect that, four months before his death, he sat at my request for the portrait which adorns the first volume. By the kindness of Sir William Beechy I am enabled to offer another, done at an earlier period of his life, and which I hope will not be deemed intrusive. Want of space alone has prevented the insertion of more of his Lordship's valuable correspondence.

Park Lane, March 5, 1824.

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THE

NAVAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAP. I.

Anecdotes retrospective, in the year 1799—Spanish fleet—Captain Gage, in Terpsichore—Moore, in Transfer—Spanish frigates land treasure, while our fleet blockades Cadiz—Combined fleets pass Gibraltar—take Maitland in a cutter—Noble conduct of that officer—Capture of the Santa Teresa—Good conduct of Captain James Saunders; of the Lieutenants of the Success, Petterel, and Phaeton—Sir J. Duckworth takes two Spanish frigates and convoy—Affairs of Elba—Blockade of Malta—Capture of the Genereux—Brilliant conduct of Captain Peard—Lord Keith succeeds Nelson in the command—The latter retires to England—Queen Charlotte burnt off Leghorn—Exertions and death of Captain Todd—Siege of Genoa—Captains Morris, Halsted, and Downman, distinguish themselves—Bonaparte resolves to save Genoa—Passes the Alps—Battle of Marengo—Captain Beaver takes a galley—Genoa capitulates—Distress of the garrison—Affecting anecdote of British seamen—French garrison sent to Nice—Captain Austen, in the Petterel—Manley Dixon, in the Lion—Capture of Guillaume Tell—Severe action—Blackwood, in Penelope—Capture of La Diane—Rickets, in El Corso, attacks Cesenatico—Hillyar takes armed ships out of Barcelona—Malta surrenders—Lord Keith joins Sir R. Abercrombie—Preparations for the invasion of Egypt.

In the early part of the year 1799, the Spanish fleet shewed some sparks of naval enterprise; and

taking advantage of the bad weather, which had driven our fleet from the blockade of Cadiz, they put to sea, and ran up the Mediterranean. Caught in a gale of wind, they soon became sensible of their incompetency to contend against the elements alone; many of them were dismasted, or lost their topmasts. A seventy-four put into Oran-bay in the greatest confusion, her mainmast buried in her poop-deck, and unable to furl her foresail; she let go her anchor, and brought up as she was. The Terpsichore, of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Wm. Hall Gage, and the Speedy brig, of fourteen guns, were lying there, and, at daylight, the Spaniard cut his cable, and ran, pursued by the British vessels. It was the determination of Captain Gage to board her, one on each side; but, as the weather cleared up, they discovered the unwelcome presence of the Spanish fleet, which, though disabled, rendered the enterprise impracticable.

In the month of February, Captain Wm. Moore, in the Transfer, a small brig of fourteen guns, running with the mails from Lisbon to Gibraltar, had despatches for the British blockading squadron, off Cadiz; and reaching that rendezvous before daybreak, discovered a squadron which he concluded to be British. Approaching with a confidence, inspired by the stationary position of our fleet for two years before, he was far within gunshot, when he saw by the dawn of day, that he was in the midst of an enemy's fleet,—a Spanish

squadron (with some valuable merchant-ships), which had slipped out during the absence of our own. To attempt his escape, by any sudden alteration of his course, he well knew would have ensured his capture; he therefore hoisted American colours, and steering for Cadiz, was suffered to pass unmolested. Not satisfied with this success, the daring officer boarded the sternmost vessel of the convoy, which proved to be richly laden; and the Spanish commander, concluding from the audacity of the deed, that the British fleet was near, suffered the Transfer to take away her well-earned prize unmolested. From these instances we may infer, that the Spaniards have no great talent for maritime achievement, and that their marine will never again be formidable to England. We must, however, in justice to them, mention a fact, which, though not creditable to our vigilance, proves equal good fortune, if not talent, in two Spanish officers. While our fleet lay before Cadiz (the in-shore squadron almost within gunshot of the Light-house, the main body of the fleet about five miles off, at anchor), two frigates came upon them in the night, and were reported to the captain of the flag-ship, by the officer of the watch. They were supposed to be either friends or neutrals; and the Spanish captains were not sensible of their danger, until, standing nearer to Cadiz, they learned from the fishing-boats, that the British fleet was without them, and the advanced squadron within them. Not a moment was to be lost, and the time was well employed. They were loaded

with treasure, which was instantly got on deck, put into the fishing-boats, and landed safely at Cadiz without suspicion. Daylight discovered the fortunate Spaniards, after all their treasure was in safety: they were chased, and one taken, the other destroyed, in a bay not far from the scene of their achievement.

In July, 1799, the Spanish fleet, at Carthagena, was joined by the French, making the tremendous amount of forty-eight sail of the line. They appeared off Gibraltar, where Lord St. Vincent was then lying in the Argo, of forty-four guns (the only ship in the bay), ready to sail for England. His Lordship instantly despatched a cutter, under the orders of Lieutenant Frederick Lewis Maitland, his flag-lieutenant (the same officer, who, at a subsequent period, commanded the Bellerophon, on a memorable occasion), to reconnoitre the enemy. The cutter had on board a sum of money, intended for Minorca, which it was not deemed advisable to remove, under the pressing urgency for her immediate departure. Anxious to gain the most accurate information, he approached so near the hostile fleet, that the enemy chased and captured the vessel. When the British sailors found there was no chance of escape, they made an attempt to plunder the treasure, which Maitland most honourably and successfully resisted, alleging, that as public property, it was the lawful prize of the captors. We hold this up as an example of national character, worthy of imitation, and wish we could

give *one* similar instance of honour and integrity among our numerous enemies. We have already described the successful retreat of this immense fleet to Brest, pursued by Lord Keith.

In the month of February, the Leviathan and Argo, commanded by Captains Markham and Bowen, chased two Spanish frigates on the coast of Catalonia: the Leviathan had her main-topsail-yard carried away; but the Argo came up with one of the frigates, which immediately surrendered. She was called the Santa Teresa of forty-two guns, and had on board five hundred soldiers and seamen.

Captain James Saunders in the Espoir brig, of fourteen guns, fought two Spanish xebecs, either of which might have been considered of equal force to the British vessel. After contending with them for one hour and fifty minutes, he carried the largest by boarding; the other escaped.

Captain Peard in the Success, sent his boats under the command of Lieutenants Facey and Stupart, with Lieutenant Dawson of the marines, and forty men, into the harbour of La Seva, near Cape Creux; where they attacked a polacre, moored under the guns of the fort, with boarding-nettings up, and defended by one hundred and thirteen men; whom they drove from the decks with great slaughter, and brought the vessel out. Lieutenant, now Captain, Stupart was severely wounded. Captain F. W. Austen, in the Petterel, sent his boats under the command of Lieutenant

J. W. Brenton, in chase of a vessel near Barcelona. On coming up with her, they were cautioned by the enemy to keep off; but the boats dashing alongside were so firmly received, that they were compelled to retreat with many men killed, and the Lieutenant mortally wounded. The boats of the Phaeton, Captain James N. Morris, boarded the San Josef, a Spanish vessel of fourteen guns, and seventy men, and brought her out from the batteries of Fangerolla.—Lieutenant, now Captain, Francis Beaufort, who commanded the party, was severely wounded.

On the 5th of April, 1800, Rear-admiral Sir John Duckworth, when cruising off Cadiz, fell in with a rich convoy of Spanish merchantmen, bound to South America, loaded with quicksilver and other merchandise, under the protection of three frigates, which had also a cargo of quicksilver on board. Sir John having captured two of the frigates, the Carmen and Florentina, of thirty-six guns each, and three hundred and forty men, and also eleven sail of merchant-ships richly laden, carried all his prizes safe to Gibraltar.

Sir John immediately after this event, was succeeded in the blockade of Cadiz by Rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, and was ordered in the Leviathan to the Leeward islands, where he took the chief command, Lord Hugh Seymour going down to Jamaica.

While the armies of the Republic were regaining what they had lost in Italy, the little island of Elba

was the scene of the most brilliant valour and obstinate contention. This island is eight miles long, and two broad. A small number of English, driven from the dominions of Tuscany, in October, 1800, took refuge at Porto Ferrajo, headed by Mr. Isaac Grant, the British vice-consul. They formed the resolution of defending themselves from the attacks of the French. The enthusiasm against Gallic tyranny and rapacity communicated even to the women, who took up arms to assist in the extirpation of the enemies of freedom. Three hundred soldiers were thrown into the place from the British squadron, under Sir J. B. Warren, and a body of Corsicans and Neapolitans raised the number of men in the garrison to fifteen hundred. The town was invested on the land side by five thousand French troops, and batteries being erected, it was exposed to all the horrors of a bombardment. In a sally, Mr. Grant succeeded in destroying the principal works of the enemy; but these were soon replaced by others equally strong. Sir John Warren detached seven sail of the line, and three frigates, with some troops, from before Toulon, to defend this island: but the enemy having possession of the posts, commanding the harbour of Porto Ferrajo, our ships could not enter, but landed the troops and seamen, to the number of three thousand, in different parts, as near to the principal post as possible.

Attacked in their advance from the beach, by the French General (Martin), they were defeated with

the loss of eight hundred killed and wounded, and about two hundred taken prisoners: the English frigates, which had entered the harbour, while our troops temporarily occupied the batteries, were compelled to retreat with loss and disorder. A simultaneous attack in the port of Marcana was equally unsuccessful. By the treaty of Luneville, Elba, which belonged jointly to Tuscany and Naples, was ceded by both those powers to France; the king of Naples receiving the principality of Piombino (the property of Tuscany) in compensation. The cession of this island was confirmed to France, at the peace of Amiens.

The blockade of Malta, and the siege of Valette, still continued; and such was the vigilance of the British cruisers that the wants of the French became daily more pressing. A squadron, consisting of the Genereux, of seventy-four guns, two frigates, and a store-ship, having on board four thousand troops, and a vast quantity of provisions, sailed from Toulon, with a view to relieve the garrison. Lord Keith, aware of their approach, disposed his ships accordingly. Lord Nelson in the Foudroyant, of eighty guns, with the Alexander, Audacious, and Northumberland, seventy-fours, and the Lion, of sixty-four guns, Success frigate, and El Corso brig, fell in with them on the 18th of February, when the Genereux, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Perée, struck to the Alexander after little resistance, and the store-ship was also taken: the frigates escaped.

In this action, although the enemy was compelled to submit to superior numbers, we must not omit to do justice to the gallant conduct of Captain Peard, in the Success frigate, of thirty-two guns. This we mention, not only as an act of judicious valour, but to shew how much may be done by frigates similarly situated; and it is strongly recommended to young officers, intrusted with such enviable commands, to study the models placed before them, in the captures of the Genereux and the Guillaume Tell, which were principally effected by the bravery, coolness, and presence of mind of two captains of frigates, Peard and Blackwood. We say this without meaning to detract from the merit of Lieutenant Harrington of the Alexander. In the course of the chase, Peard, crossing the Genereux on opposite tacks, passed as near to her as he could; and gave his broadsides, receiving those of his tremendous enemy. By this fire of the Success, the French Admiral was killed, and his ship thrown into a confusion from which she could not recover, and which was one great cause of her capture. Such exploits as these, and the actors in them, should never be forgotten, and never go unrewarded. Without the honour of being personally known to Admiral Peard, we most cheerfully pay this humble tribute to valour and nautical skill, united to the most unblemished private character.

The capture of the Genereux led to the surrender of Malta, and was the last act performed by

Nelson in the Mediterranean, before the peace of Amiens. Dissatisfied with the policy of the Italian princes, and the appointment of Sir Sidney Smith, with a broad pendant, Nelson had long been discontented with his situation: the letters of Lord St. Vincent shew, that he was with difficulty prevented from resigning in the preceding year. Malta, after the landing of Captain Ball, and the surrender of Goza, had been declared part of the Sicilian dominions; yet, though in a state of famine, while Sicily, the "granary of the world," was in abundance, the government denied the exportation of its corn to the loyal Maltese and their faithful British allies. Captain Ball, one of the brightest of our naval characters, partaking of the indignation of Nelson and Trowbridge, sent Lieutenant Harrington, in the Alexander, with orders to bring out from the port of Messina, a certain number of vessels, loaded with grain. This manly and decided conduct, relieved the wants of Malta; and the court of Palermo or Naples did not venture to remonstrate on this act of justifiable violence.

The arrival of Lord Keith in the Mediterranean, as Commander-in-chief, in the year 1800, completed the mortification of Nelson, who considered himself the rightful successor of Lord St. Vincent. He preferred returning home by land, and pursued his journey in the spring from Leghorn to Vienna. The towns of the Continent, uncontaminated by the presence of the French armies,

vied with each other in shewing honour to the hero of the Nile. He embarked in the Elbe, and landed at North Yarmouth, where he was received by his countrymen with the highest marks of admiration and esteem; and, on his arrival in London, his Majesty and the government heaped on him every honour and kindness, which his heroic deeds deserved.

While Lord Keith, in the month of March, was on shore at Leghorn, concerting with the Allies for the prosecution of the campaign, he sent Captain Todd, in the Queen Charlotte, to reconnoitre the island of Cabrera. On the 17th, at six o'clock in the morning, the ship, when about four leagues from Leghorn, took fire under the half-deck, by some loose hay, as it was supposed, being accidentally thrown upon a match-tub; for although gun-locks were, at that time, in general use in the navy, every ship kept a lighted match during the night in a tub, under the care of the centinel, at the cabin-door.

The flames soon spread to the mast, catching the mainsail, which was, at that time, unfortunately set. The ship, in a few minutes, was in a blaze from the mainmast aft. The middle and lower decks, and the forecastle, only affording any space for exertion, all that prudence and fortitude could achieve, was done by Captain Todd, and every officer and man in the ship, but in vain. Lord Keith was a spectator of the dreadful scene, and sent off every boat and vessel he could command, to

the relief of his unfortunate crew, of whom only one hundred and sixty-seven were saved, out of eight hundred and forty. The last part of the ship which took fire was the forecastle, where the men having collected, jumped overboard and swam to the surrounding boats; some of which were kept at a great distance through fear of the guns, as they heated, and discharged among them. The surviving officers and men were honourably acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial; and we should have hoped, that the bravery, perseverance, and self-devotion of Captain Todd, who, to the last moment, gave orders to save the lives of his men, regardless of his own, would have secured his memory from the imputations cast on it by a contemporary historian,* who observes, that "the accident was not very creditable to the discipline of the ship." Every ship, however well regulated and conducted, is liable to these misfortunes; and when it is recollected, that a vessel of war is one mass of combustible materials, we are only astonished that they do not occur more frequently.

If the Earl of Sandwich or Captain Douglas,† deserved immortality for perishing in the flames of their own ships, why should the same honour be denied to the memory of the gallant Captain Todd, who fell at his post, freely sacrificing his own life to save his crew, and preserve the ship intrusted to his care?

* Mr. James's Naval History, vol. 2. p. 504.

† See Redhead Yorke's Naval History, vol. 2. pp. 374. 391.

Lord Keith, after this fatal event, had his flag in the Audacious and Minotaur; and on the return of Nelson to England, in May, shifted it to the Foudroyant.

The siege of Genoa, which in April had been invested by the combined forces of Britain and Austria, was conducted with extraordinary skill, and crowned with complete success; after the unfortunate inhabitants had been made to endure every species of privation, and to live on aliment the most abhorrent to our nature. The annals of war do not furnish a more perfect instance of military discipline, and devotion to the cause of one's country, than that which is to be found in the history of this siege. The Austrian forces, which formed the semicircular blockade on the land side, were commanded by Lieutenant-general Count D'Ott; the British fleet, under Lord Keith, prevented every article of food reaching the garrison; while the frigates, sloops, and gun-boats, carried their fire to the very walls of the town, and completed the misery of the wretched people. Famine began to make the most horrible ravages; and disease, its constant attendant, mercifully relieved the victims from intolerable suffering. The women and children were ordered to quit the town, but the cruel policy of war forbade it; and the helpless wretches were compelled to return to scenes of desolation and horror. The black flag displayed on the hospitals and houses, appointed for the reception of the sick and wounded, guided the ar-

tillery in respecting those asylums of woe; the only indulgence, that could be shewn to the most complicated misery.

On the 29th of April, it having been agreed between Lord Keith and the General, Count D'Ott, that a combined attack should be made on all sides of the city, it was begun at three in the morning, on the 30th. The Phœnix, Captain L. W. Halsted, of thirty-six guns, Mondovi, Entreprenante, and the launches of the squadron, supported a column of Austrians, who pressed the enemy under the walls of the town, on the sea-shore. General Ott took Diu Fratelli by escalade, and blocked up Diamonti, on the side of St. Martino. The French, who, from the fire of our squadron, in the day-time dared not follow the Austrians, regained in the evening all their posts, with the loss of about fifteen hundred men.

On the 2d of May, they made a desperate sortie, and repeatedly advanced to the very muzzles of our guns; nor did they retire till they had lost twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom were made prisoners.

Captain James Nichol Morris, of the Phaeton, took twenty sail of vessels loaded with corn, and seized a large depôt of arms; he also galled the enemy's rear through several miles of their retreat along the sea-shore.

The French burnt their magazines at Alassio, and retired to Port Maurice.

On the 6th of May, the Colde Tende, a strong

post, was carried by storm, as well as many other places, included in the general plan of attack; and the enemy was compelled to retreat towards Nice. They were pursued along the coast by the British vessels, whose fire contributed to accelerate their flight: and they were compelled to evacuate the territory of Genoa, with the exception of that city and Savona. The French General Suchet, with his shattered army, passed the Var, and the Austrians took possession of Nice.

On the 15th, Savona surrendered, and the troops in the garrison became prisoners of war. The reduction of this important place was owing, in a great measure, to the vigilance of the British squadron, which prevented any supplies being thrown in. Our boats, with those of the Neapolitans, rowed guard forty-one nights. The blockade was conducted by Captain Hugh Downman, in the Santa Dorothea, of thirty-six guns. This officer signed the capitulation; and the garrison, which consisted of eight hundred men, was sent to France.

Bonaparte, deeply anxious to save Genoa, left nothing undone that could be achieved by the most consummate skill of a general, and the most undaunted valour of the finest army in the world. This he separated into four divisions: the first of which he commanded in person, and effected the famous passage of Mount St. Bernard; the second, third, and fourth divisions, proceeded by Mount Cenis, St. Gothard, and the Simplon; and the

whole prepared to meet in the plains of Lombardy, and dispute with the Austrians, not only for the kingdom of Italy, but for the German empire.

The mode adopted by Bonaparte, to transport his heavy artillery over the snowy surface of the Alps, was both novel and ingenious. He caused the guns to be dismounted and placed in the hollow trunks of large trees, scooped out and prepared for the purpose. By this means he transported them with ease and expedition from hill to hill, and through the deepest ravines; surmounting the most stupendous rocks, and taking fortresses, deemed till then impregnable. He appeared before Milan and Pavia, both of which surrendered, the latter on the 5th of June; and although the first object of Bonaparte was frustrated by the surrender of Genoa on the preceding day, the capitulation of that place gave him the command of a body of troops, which contributed, no doubt, to the great victory of Marengo, which he gained on the 14th.

This battle, as Mr. Pitt observed, was on the point of deciding the fate of Europe, as every good man could have wished. The valour of the Austrians was such, that for a time every thing seemed propitious. Bonaparte certainly considered the day lost to France, and was standing on the field of battle in a state of mental abstraction, when Desaix galloped by him, exclaiming, "Is this the way, General, to lead the armies of the Republic?" and heading a body of cavalry, he made that famous

charge which cost him his life, and gained the imperial crown for his less deserving chief. The garrison of Tortona, seeing the confusion of the French, sallied out, and had nearly surrounded them: but the battle was lost by the over-confidence of Melas, the Austrian general, who supposed it won; and won by Bonaparte, who had supposed it lost. Such are the wayward vicissitudes of man, and such the trifles that often decide the fate of empires.

In the course of the siege and blockade of Genoa, there were some acts of valour and generosity displayed by our navy, which redound too much to its honour to be passed without notice.

Captain Philip Beaver was intrusted by Lord Keith with the charge of the flotilla employed in the bombardment of the town, and carried his little force so close under the walls, as to receive the fire of the enemy's musketry. On one occasion a large and beautiful galley, rowing fifty oars, mounting two long brass thirty-six pounders, with thirty brass swivels in her hold, and manned with two hundred and fifty men, came out, with many other vessels, to drive away the unwelcome intruders. Captain Beaver, with a chosen band, rushed alongside of her in the dark, got on her decks, and drove the enemy below, bringing out the prize in triumph to the fleet, with only four of his men wounded.

Genoa capitulated on the 4th of June. It would never have been reduced by the Austrians,

without the assistance of the British navy; and never, since the surrender of Haarlem to the Spaniards, was a garrison more emaciated than that of Genoa. No means of subsistence were left; horses, dogs, and even vermin, were devoured by the famished natives. On the signing of the capitulation, the living spectres rushed out in search of food, and boats were instantly procured, in which their feeble limbs scarcely enabled them to paddle off to the British ships. The crews, who were just going to their dinner, flew to the ports and gang-ways, and distributed all their provisions among the supplicants; and the welcome supply was received with tears of gratitude. History has few instances of more affecting benevolence, or of a more sudden transition from war and hatred to peace and friendship.

After the capitulation of Genoa, the French troops, with arms and baggage, were conveyed by British transports to Nice, and landed there, so that they were enabled to march at once, and join the army of Bonaparte, descending from St. Bernard. If not unavoidable, this was surely an impolitic measure on our side.

In loading the transports, with what was called army clothing, our sailors, not inclined to take much trouble in such a cause, put the hook between the stitches, which giving way with the weight, the bale burst, and the contents were found to be the finest Genoa velvet; an inspection

accordingly took place, which led to the discovery of much valuable property. Such, we are sorry to say, was the constant practice of the French.

March 21st, Captain Francis William Austen, in the Petterel, of eighteen guns, attacked off Marseilles, three armed vessels, two of which he drove on shore under their batteries, the third he brought off; she was a brig called the Ligurienne, of sixteen guns, and one hundred and four men. This vessel was of a very peculiar construction, and most probably intended for the service of the Egyptian army: she was put together with screw bolts, and might be taken to pieces and set up at pleasure.

On the 30th, Captain Manley Dixon, in the Lion, of sixty-four guns, commanded the squadron at the blockade of Malta, having under his orders the

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Foudroyant	80	Capt. Sir E. Berry.
Alexander	74	Lieut. Harrington, acting for Capt. A. Ball.
Penelope	36	Capt. H. Blackwood.

with three sloops of war.

Suspecting, that the Guillaume Tell was about to run from the island to Toulon, Captain Dixon stationed Blackwood close off the harbour of Valette, where, about midnight, he got sight of the enemy. Despatching El Corso brig to inform the Commodore, he made every signal in his power to apprise him of their position. Blackwood crowded sail in chase, and was so fortunate,

and so daring, as to run up within musket-shot; raked him, and carried away his main and mizen topmasts and main-yard. At daylight the Lion, and the rest of the squadron were well up; Captain Dixon ran close alongside, poured in his fire with great effect, then luffed across his bows, and locked the Frenchman's jib-boom in the Lion's main rigging, still continuing to rake him. The ships were soon disengaged from this position, and in fifty minutes the Foudroyant came up. Sir Edward Berry passed within hail of the enemy, and ordered him to surrender; but Decrees, not yet satisfied with the resistance he had made, renewed the action with fury, contending at once against the three ships, which in succession had brought him to action. After as gallant a defence as was ever shewn, the Guillaume Tell surrendered; she was the last ship of the line of the Nile fleet, every one of which had now been taken or destroyed by the victorious Nelson and his associates.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*
The Foudroyant had	8	61
— Lion	7	38
— Penelope	2	2

The Guillaume Tell, now called the Malta, mounted eighty-six guns, and had on board one thousand men: the loss of the enemy must have been very considerable. Decrees gave a long and correct letter on the subject, stating that he was dismasted and overpowered. He was much esteemed for his conduct on this occasion, and the chief

consul made him minister of the marine. He had many enemies, and was cruelly murdered by his own servant at Paris a few years after.*

In the month of August, while Captain George Martin, in the Northumberland, of seventy-four guns, commanded the blockade of Malta, two French frigates, La Diane and La Justice, slipped out in the night; but were immediately perceived and chased, and the Diane captured by Captain Peard, in the Success: she mounted forty-two guns, eighteen and nine pounders, but had only one hundred and fourteen men on board.

The boats of our cruisers were particularly active and successful, on the Mediterranean station, at this period. Those of the Mermaid frigate, Captain Robert D. Oliver, cut out six vessels, loaded with supplies for the relief of Genoa, which had run under a fort near Cape Corsette. Those of El Corso, sloop of war, were sent by Captain W. Ricketts, who had the Pigmy, cutter, under his orders, to attack the port of Cesenatico. The boats were placed under the command of Lieutenant James Lucas Yeo, who executed his orders with great spirit and gallantry, destroying thirteen vessels, and the pier-heads. This affair was con-

* The wretch concealed some gunpowder in his master's bed, which was contrived to explode with a slow match at the moment of his retiring to rest; the blow was not immediately fatal. The servant on hearing the report threw himself from the window, and lived only long enough to confess his crime: the unfortunate Admiral expired on the third or fourth day after the explosion.

ducted with unusual severity, in consequence of the municipality having arrested a British officer charged with despatches.

Captain Louis, of the Minotaur, had the blockade of Barcelona, having under his orders the Niger, of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Hillyar. Two Spanish corvettes, of twenty-two guns each, were lying in the harbour.

Captain Hillyar, with the Lieutenants Schomberg, Warrand, and Lowry of the Minotaur, Healy of the Niger, Jewel of the marines, and Mr. Reid the master, volunteered to cut these vessels out.

This daring act was nobly accomplished, but has been greatly misrepresented; it having been stated, that Captain Hillyar availed himself of the neutrality of a Swedish galliot, to get into the harbour unperceived or unsuspected. The Niger was at that time, armed en flute, with the guns and complement of a sloop of war, and in that condition had been often attacked by the gun-boats from Barcelona. In the course of his in-shore service, Hillyar had well observed the situation of the enemy; who lay as usual under very strong batteries, guarded by ten gun-boats, and two schooners. Sir Thomas Louis ordered eight boats, manned with volunteers, to accompany Hillyar in the attack; one of them was at that time (late in the evening), boarding a Swedish galliot *bound into the port.* To join this boat, and give directions to the officer, Captain Hillyar went alongside, and continued there with all his boats, while the ves-

sel stood in towards the mole: this act, which could have had no effect in protecting him from hostility, was magnified by the Swedes and Spaniards into a serious breach of neutrality. As they approached to the distance of three-quarters of a mile, or long gunshot, Hillyar and his party quitted the vessel: two shots were at this moment fired, which passed over the galliot; and two or three minutes after, the enemy's outer ship in Barcelona discharged her broadside at them: the shot all fell short. The boats pulled in, and with such alacrity and resolution, that the enemy had neither time nor inclination to reload their guns. The outer ship was immediately boarded and carried with great opposition. The cheers of the victors announced the conquest, upon which the other ship (one of her cables being cut) opened her fire. Her fore-topsail had been loosed in order to cast her towards the mole-head, where the Spaniards intended to seek safety: the sail took the wrong way, and as fortune often favours the brave, she was carried with complete success. The other cable cut, and both vessels came out together towed by the British boats, and pursued for a short time by the Spanish gun-boats. Such was the result of this little enterprise, which the Spaniards, ashamed of their defeat, attempted to prove was done under the disguise of a neutral flag, forgetting that the affair was achieved after dark, when no flag could be distinguished; and even if the case was as they

represent, it did not prevent their firing upon a defenceless neutral. It was, however, unfortunate that the Swedish vessel was in company: for, although her presence neither contributed to the success of the enterprise, nor the safety of the men, it was thought in England, that the representation of the Swedish and the Spanish ministers had made an impression to the disadvantage of Hillyar and his gallant companions. The Admiralty and Lord Nelson, after much explanation, saw it in its true light, and the latter was ever after the friend of Captain Hillyar. The vessels mounted twenty-two brass guns, and had cargoes bound to Batavia. One was called La Paz, the other the Esmeralda: they were about four hundred tons burden. Our loss was two killed and five wounded. The capture led to the promotion of Captain Hillyar and Lieutenant Schomberg.

The fortress of Valette, and the island of Malta, surrendered on the 20th of September, to our army under General Pigott, and the blockading squadron under the command of Captain George Martin, in the Northumberland, of seventy-four guns. Captain Alexander John Ball, of the Alexander, had commanded the blockade of the island, until his services were deemed of much more importance on shore, to conduct the siege of Valette, and unite the Maltese against the enemy. He had over the minds of these people a wonderful influence, and employed it so much for the benefit of his country, that to his exertions we chiefly owe the

reduction of the island, and the attachment, which for years afterward the inhabitants continued to feel towards the British nation.

In the harbour of Valette, was found a Maltese sixty-four gun ship, of a very beautiful model. She was called the Athenian, and was subsequently lost under circumstances of singular calamity.

The terms of capitulation granted to the garrison, were nearly similar to those conceded to other colonies of the enemy: the troops to march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms; the officers and non-commissioned officers to retain their swords; the garrison to be sent to Toulon at the expense of his Britannic Majesty, and not to serve against Great Britain until regularly exchanged.

After the surrender of Genoa and Malta, Lord Keith, with the fleet, went down to Gibraltar, where he found Sir Ralph Abercrombie, with ten thousand men. Here, as we have before observed, he was joined by Sir John Warren, and Sir James Pulteney: the latter, with five thousand men, returned to Lisbon.

The proceedings of that vast armament have been related, up to its fruitless summons of Cadiz, in the month of October, 1800.

The army, embarked in troop-ships and coppered transports, was well calculated for the most difficult enterprise; and the rupture of the treaty of El Arisch gave employment to this force, and cost the lives of many of our gallant countrymen.

To understand the history of the memorable campaign in Egypt, of 1801, it will be necessary to take a slight review of the affairs of the Mediterranean, and the south of Europe.

The Russians and Austrians, at the conclusion of the year 1799, had cleared Italy of the enemy; while the British navy verifying, in some measure, the wild prediction of Father M'Cormick, had planted its banners on the walls of Rome; and every seaport in the European coasts of the Mediterranean, from Constantinople to Gibraltar, was either in our possession, in alliance with us, or under the most impenetrable blockade. This fortunate state of things was soon reversed: the French once more made themselves masters of Italy, and left us no other means of annoyance than to expel them from Egypt. The history of that memorable campaign will occupy a distinct chapter, which we shall here anticipate by a few remarks.

The capture of Malta, put us in possession of the finest harbour in the Mediterranean: the French, sensible of its value, in the course of the discussion on the treaty of peace, gravely proposed that we should exchange it for the little island of Lampedosa, lying between Malta and the coast of Africa. The question was referred by the privy-council to the Earl of St. Vincent, then first lord of the Admiralty. France wished that the Neapolitans should occupy Malta: and this, was at one time intended, but a clearer insight into the politics of the Tuilleries induced a change of plan.

The French, his Lordship said, would turn the Neapolitans out, or use the island at pleasure for the destruction of our Levant trade: they would have done more. The emancipation of the Greeks was at that time in contemplation, not with a view to the benefit of the Greeks, but for the purpose of gaining the richest possessions of the Turkish empire; for this end the French would have commenced with attacking the Morea and the Greek islands. But the chief object of the consul, in wishing to retain Malta, was to ensure the success of his plans on Egypt; which were not abandoned at the signing of the treaty of Amiens.

CHAP. II.

Phœbe and Africaine—Dreadful slaughter on board the latter —Speedy and Gamo—Conduct of Lord Cochrane—Capture of the Speedy—Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez takes the command off Cadiz—Attacks the squadron of Admiral Linois in Algeziras-bay—Loss of the Hannibal—Particulars of that action—Sir James retires to Gibraltar—Repairs his damages —Wonderful exertions of British seamen—The French squadron in Algeziras is joined by a Spanish squadron—The whole sail—and are pursued by Sir James, who attacks them—The Superb takes the San Antonio—The Hermenegildo and Real Carlos are burnt—The Cæsar and Venerable continue the chase of the enemy—The Venerable brings the Formidable to action, but grounding on the shoals of Conil, is dismasted, and the enemy escapes—Noble conduct of Captain Samuel Hood—Thanks of Parliament—Speech of Earl St. Vincent, and of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence—Official letters—Captain Halsted, with a squadron of frigates, retakes the Success—Captain Cockburn, in the Minerve, chases the Bravoure and destroys her—Attack on the island of Elba.

On the 19th of February, Captain, now Sir Robert Barlow, in the Phœbe, of thirty-six guns, while off Gibraltar, discovered an enemy's frigate on the Barbary shore, under Ceuta: at half-past seven in the evening he brought her to action, and continued to engage her closely for two hours, during which he had so much the advantage, that he scarcely received a shot, while the slaughter among the enemy was almost incredible. Reduced to a perfect wreck, with five feet water in

her hold, when she surrendered, the scene on board of her exceeded, in proportion, that witnessed in the Caira and Censeur. Her decks were encumbered with two hundred dead, and one hundred and forty-three wounded men; more, by sixty, than the whole crew of the Phœbe. Her name was the Africaine, mounting forty-four guns, and having, at the commencement of the action, three hundred and fifteen seamen, four hundred soldiers and artificers, the general of division, Desfourneaux, with other superior officers; six brass field-pieces, many thousand stand of arms, ammunition, and implements of agriculture. She was bound to Egypt, and commanded by Commodore Majendie. The Phœbe had two men killed, and Mr. John Wentworth Holland, the first lieutenant, Mr. Griffiths, the master, and ten seamen wounded. This great inequality in damage may be attributed to this cause; the enemy, who attempted to board the Phœbe, was out-manœuvered, and kept at a proper distance, by which means her supernumeraries became only lumber on her decks, and prevented the commodore and his seamen from doing their duty; while the useless hands, who crowded the decks and rigging, were mowed down at every broadside, or discharge of musketry. For this action, Captain Barlow was knighted; and his first lieutenant promoted to the rank of commander.

On the 5th of May, the Speedy brig, of fourteen guns, and having only fifty-four men and boys,

commanded by that daring and eccentric officer, Lord Cochrane,* encountered, off Barcelona, a Spanish xebec. The magnitude of the enemy had no effect on the nerves of the British captain. He told his crew that he intended to board her; they swore to follow him, to use their own terms, "to h——," and prepared accordingly: *not a man or boy* but what partook in the honour. The surgeon, Mr. James Guthrie, took the wheel, and the little audacious vessel was laid alongside of the towering Spaniard. The British sailors, led by their captain, mounted the rigging and leaped on her decks, dealing death at every blow. The astonished Spaniards, after some resistance, fled and gave up their ship, which proved to be the Gamo, of thirty-two guns; twenty-two long twelve pounders, eight nine pounders, and two heavy carronades; she was manned with three hundred and nineteen men, of whom the captain and fourteen were killed, and forty-one wounded; being one more than the number of the crew of the Speedy. Mr. Parker, the first lieutenant, and eight men, wounded, and three were killed.

* This gallant officer, whose character we have always admired when in the presence of the enemies of his country, was peculiarly happy in the *equivoque* he passed upon the Spanish officer, who succeeded to the command of the Gamo. He required from Lord Cochrane a certificate that he had done his duty: his Lordship immediately wrote, "I do hereby certify that Don —— (with many high sounding names) *conducted himself like a real Spaniard.*" This precious document was received with every mark of respect and gratitude.

In the month of June following, in the same vessel, and in company with the Kangaroo brig, commanded by Captain Pulling, Lord Cochrane defeated a very superior force, sunk two vessels, and brought off three others, loaded with provisions; having silenced the batteries under which they had vainly sought protection.

The career of the Speedy was closed by her capture, a few days after these exploits. Falling in with the squadron under Rear-admiral Linois, there was no device or manœuvre which Cochrane did not employ to evade the pursuit of the enemy, but in vain; he was at length secured, and the Speedy was carried to Algeziras.

In the month of June, Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez was sent from England to maintain the blockade of Cadiz; Sir Richard Bickerton's squadron having gone to Egypt. The force under the orders of Sir James Saumarez, was as follows:—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Venerable	74	Capt. Samuel Hood.
Pompée	74	—— Chas. Sterling.
Audacious	74	—— Shuldham Peard.
Cæsar (flag)	80	—— Jahleel Brenton.
Spencer	74	—— Henry D. Darby.
Hannibal	74	—— Solomon Ferris.

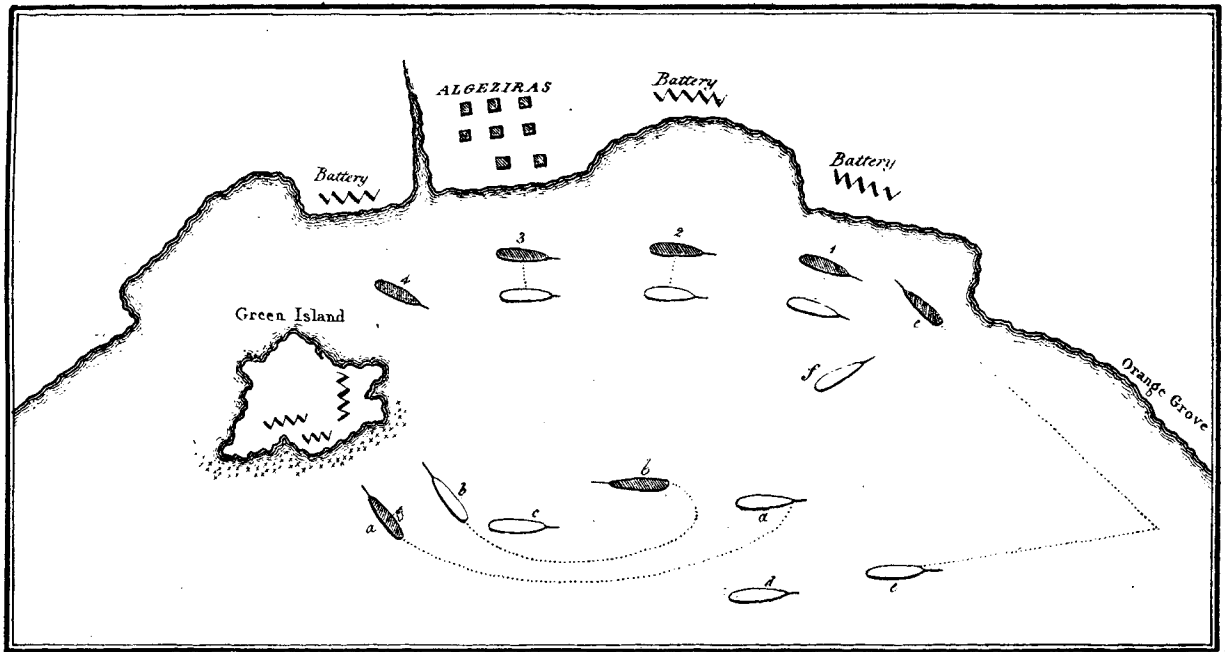
On the 5th of July, Sir James received intelligence, by means of an advice-boat from Gibraltar, that a French squadron, of three sail of the line and one frigate, had anchored at Algeziras, within four miles of the rock of Gibraltar.

The Rear-admiral instantly decided upon attacking the enemy, in the sanguine hope of being able to capture these ships, and resume his station off Cadiz, before the Spanish squadron, he was then blockading, could be in readiness to avail themselves of his absence. For this purpose he directed the Superb, then off San Lucar, to recall the Thames from her station to the westward, and then follow the squadron, which made all sail for the entrance of the Straits. The wind, which had been easterly during the night, became favourable in the course of the afternoon. The signal was made to prepare for battle, and for anchoring by the stern; in imitation of the example of Nelson in the battle of the Nile. The squadron, entering the Straits in the evening, had little wind during the night; but at daylight a fresh breeze sprung up from the westward. All sail was instantly made; and at forty-five minutes after seven, the Venerable, having got abreast of Cabrita Point, made the signal for seeing the enemy,* and

* The accompanying plan will shew the situation of the ships, the island, and the batteries: those marked with shade are the *second* positions, taken by the contending squadrons.

British Squadron.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
a Cæsar (flag)	80	Capt. J. Brenton.
b Audacious	74	—— S. Peard.
c Venerable	74	—— S. Hood.
d Spencer	74	—— H. D. Darby.
e Hannibal	74	—— S. Ferris.
f Pompée	74	—— C. Sterling.



C. Kullmandel's Lithography

REAR ADMIRAL SIR JAMES SAUMAREZ

Attack on THE FRENCH SQUADRON in ALGEZIRAS BAY. July 5th 1801.

Engraved for Brenton's Naval History.

was directed by the Admiral to anchor between the batteries of Algeziras and Green Island. At twenty-five minutes past eight, the action began with the headmost ship, and at nine it became general. The Venerable, on approaching the enemy's ships, with an intention of getting as close as possible, unfortunately broke round off by a flaw of wind; and Captain Hood, apprehensive of not being able to obtain a nearer position, let go his anchor at the distance of about two cables' length from the Indomptable, and opened a gallant fire upon her. The Pompée, preserving the wind in its original direction, succeeded in obtaining a most admirable situation on the bow of the French Admiral, within pistol-shot, and raked him with great effect. The Audacious, passing under the lee of the Venerable, took up her anchorage in a line a-head of her; as the Cæsar immediately did a-head of the Audacious. The Hannibal and Spencer being becalmed to leeward of the Cæsar, their signals were made to tow into action. On a breeze springing up, Captain Ferris eagerly availed himself of it, by making sail towards the Orange-grove, tacking in shore, and keeping a close luff, in the hope of being able to lay the French Admiral on board, on

French.

Ships.	*Guns.*	
1 Formidable	80	Rear-admiral Linois.
2 Dessaix	74	
3 Indomptable	80	
4 Meuron (frigate)	44	

the side next the shore.—This daring attempt was frustrated by his ship taking the ground, immediately abreast of the battery of San Jago, and within a short distance of the Formidable, in such a position as to be exposed to a destructive fire from that ship. Until this period, the advantage seemed entirely on the side of the British squadron. But by a flaw of wind the Pompée broke her sheer, and instead of raking the French Admiral's ship, was raked by him with a most destructive fire. She was obliged to cut her cables, and was towed off by the boats of the squadron. A fresh breeze springing up at this time from the N. W. the Cæsar cut her cable, and, veering round, attacked the Dessaix and Green Island battery, supported by the Audacious and Venerable; the Hannibal, at the same time, keeping up a galling fire upon the Formidable, and the batteries. The ships were thus engaged for nearly two hours, under every disadvantage of calm, light, and baffling airs, with their heads all round the compass; the boats incessantly employed in towing them, so as to bring their broadsides to bear, until called away to assist the Hannibal, now immoveably fixed upon the shoal, whence no effort could extricate her. Seventy men lying dead on his decks, with a great number wounded, about twelve o'clock, Captain Ferris hauled down his colours and surrendered. The Admiral, however, still continued the action in the Cæsar, supported by the Venerable and Audacious, until half-past one,

when, finding all prospect of success had entirely vanished, he slowly and reluctantly retired to the mole of Gibraltar, to repair his damages, leaving the Hannibal in possession of the enemy. Such was the issue of a conflict, which, at its commencement, promised the most brilliant success. Every effort was made to overcome the obstacles which presented themselves; every change of wind served only to renew the undaunted exertions, and to stimulate the enterprise, of the gallant Admiral; and it was not till every hope of success had vanished, that the object was abandoned. Nothing could exceed the decision and intrepidity of Captain Ferris, although the result of his manœuvre was unfortunate: it is, however, due to Sir James Saumarez, to state, that the squadron did not withdraw from action, until the Hannibal had surrendered. A contrary assertion is made in the narrative of Captain Ferris; an unaccountable error, proving that the most correct officers may sometimes be deceived, and the more to be lamented in this instance, as bearing the sanction of an official document.*

* In this action there were some animating examples of valour and patriotism; and viewing the subsequent conduct of the ships' companies composing that squadron, we will venture to say, that history cannot produce any thing surpassing their devotion to the cause of their king and country, and thorough determination to revenge their recent defeat.

When in the hottest part of the action, the Cæsar broke her sheer, and could not get her guns to bear on the enemy, the captain ordered a cutter to be lowered down from the stern, to convey a warp to the Audacious, but the boat was found to

During the action, the French Admiral, not confiding in the bravery of his men, or the firmness of his allies, was busily employed warping his ships as close to the shore, as the depth of water would admit.

On the following morning, the ships of the squadron were employed in landing the wounded at the hospital, and repairing their damages, which were very considerable. The Pompée was in such a state as to require new lower masts, and the Cæsar's main-mast was rendered unserviceable.

Sir James Saumarez sent his captain over to Algeziras with a flag of truce to the French Admiral, proposing an exchange of prisoners, which M. Linois declined, alleging that it was not in his power to consent to such a measure, without first receiving the sanction of the minister of marine at Paris, to whom he had despatched a courier, immediately after the termination of the action.

On the afternoon of the 9th, the Paisley brig was seen standing into the bay, with the signal flying for an enemy; and shortly after, the Superb and Thames appeared, chased by a Spanish squadron of five sail of the line and three frigates, which, on these

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be knocked to pieces by the enemy's shot. Before other means could be resorted to, Michael Collins, a young sailor, belonging to the Cæsar's mizen-top, seized the end of a lead-line, and exclaiming, "You shall soon have a warp," darted from the tafrail, and swam with the line to the Audacious, where it was received, and by that means a halser ran out, which answered the intended purpose.

ships reaching their anchorage, hauled round Cabrita Point, and joined the French ships in Algeziras. It appeared evident to Sir James Saumarez, that the design of this junction was to effect the removal of the French ships and their prize to Cadiz, as a port of safety; and that the enemy would use every exertion to effect so important an object with the utmost celerity, under a very natural expectation that the British Admiral would be unable to molest them; but this heroic officer immediately formed the daring resolution of attacking the enemy, even with his very inadequate and crippled force, the moment they moved from under their batteries.

The damages sustained by the Pompée, commanded by the gallant Captain Sterling, were such as precluded the hope of her being ready within any reasonable time to proceed to sea; the hands were therefore turned over to assist in the repairs of the other ships.

The Cæsar lay in the mole, in so shattered a state that the Admiral gave her up also; and, hoisting his flag on board the Audacious, expressed his intention of distributing her men to the effective ships. Captain Brenton requested that his people might remain on board as long as possible, and addressing them, stated the Admiral's intentions in case the ship could not be got ready: they answered, with three cheers, "All hands to work day and night, till she is ready." The Captain ordered them to work all day, and watch and watch

all night; by these means they accomplished what has, probably, never been exceeded. On the 8th, they warped her into the mole, and stripped the lower masts; on the 9th, they got their new mainmast in. On the 11th, the enemy shewed symptoms of sailing, which only increased, if possible, the energies of the seamen. On Sunday the 12th, at dawn of day, the enemy loosed sails; the Cæsar still refitting in the mole, receiving powder, shot, and other stores, and preparing to haul out.

At noon the enemy began to move: the wind was fresh from the eastward, and as they cleared the bay, they took up stations off Cabrita Point, which appeared to be the rendezvous, on which they were to form their line of battle.

At one o'clock, the enemy's squadron was nearly all under way; the Spanish ships Real Carlos and Hermenegildo, of one hundred and twelve guns each, off Cabrita Point: the Cæsar was warping out of the mole. The day was clear; the whole population of the rock came out to witness the scene; the line-wall, mole-head, and batteries were crowded from the dock-yard to the ragged staff; the Cæsar's band playing, "Come cheer up my lads, 'tis to glory we steer;" the military band of the garrison answering with "Britons strike home." The effect of this scene it is difficult to describe: Englishmen were proud of their country; and foreigners, who beheld the scene, wished to be Englishmen. So general was the enthusiasm amongst our gallant countrymen,

that even the wounded men begged to be taken on board, to share in the honours of the approaching conflict.

At three o'clock, the Cæsar having left the mole, passed under the stern of the Audacious, hoisted the Admiral's flag once more, and made the signal for the squadron to weigh and prepare for battle.

Thus after one of the severest engagements ever known, the British squadron, in the short space of five days, repaired its damages, and again sought the enemy, whose force had become tripled, by the junction of the squadron from Cadiz.

With such men, and in such a cause, victory seemed certain, notwithstanding the great disparity of force;* and the enemy appeared to have a strong presentiment of a tremendous struggle.

The Spanish and French Admirals had carried their flags into one frigate, that they might arrange

* *English.*		*Combined.*		
Ships.	*Guns.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	
Cæsar	80	Hermenegildo	112	*Spanish.*
Superb	74	Real Carlos	112	
Venerable	74	Neptuno	90	
Audacious	74	San Fernando	80	
Spencer	74	Arrogante		
Thames	32	* San Antonio	74	
Calpe (polacre)	14	St. Augustine	74	
		Three frigates	36	
			36	
			36	
		Formidable	84	*French.*
		Dessaix	84	
		Indomptable	74	
		Meuron	40	

* Under French colours.

their plans, and direct the movements of their combined force.

The Cæsar brought-to off Europa Point; the British squadron, as they weighed, closed round her.—At five, the Admiral made the interrogatory signal, to know if they were ready for action, which was answered in the negative; but at thirty-five minutes past six, it was notified that all were ready; and the signal was immediately made to observe the Admiral's motions after dark, and keep in close order of sailing. At five minutes after eight, the enemy was seen to bear up to the westward, and the British Admiral, burning a blue light to attract attention to his motions, instantly gave chase. The Superb, from her superior sailing, and the ardent zeal of her commander, was soon abreast of the Cæsar, and received the Admiral's direction to bring the northernmost ship of the enemy to action, in order to keep them as much as possible from the Spanish shore, which he most readily obeyed. At five minutes past eleven, he opened his fire upon a Spanish three-decker, which threw that ship, and her second in the line, into such confusion that they fell on board of each other. The fore-topmast of the weathermost going, as she was firing into the one to leeward, supposing her to be an enemy, the sail fell over the guns, and took fire between the two ships, at the moment the Cæsar was rounding-to, to open her broadside upon them. The flames, with awful and inconceivable rapidity, flew

to the mast-head of each; and the Cæsar had scarcely time to get out of the direction of them, by shifting her helm. Leaving these unfortunate ships to their fate, the Admiral pushed on to support the Superb, then engaged with the San Antonio, a Spanish ship under French colours, which was, however, already beaten, and had surrendered, when the Cæsar came abreast of her;—Sir James Saumarez, therefore, followed by the Venerable, went in pursuit of the flying enemy. At midnight the wind increased to a gale, and the Cæsar's masts, from the celerity of her refit, began to complain so much, that it was necessary to close reef the main-topsail, and to take in the fore-topsail. At twelve, one of the three-deckers blew up, and a quarter of an hour afterward the other suffered the same fate. At three, the Venerable came up, and brought-to on the lee-bow of the Cæsar. At forty-five minutes past three, they saw one of the enemy's ships on the lee-bow, and the Venerable in chase of her, the Spencer coming up astern: at five, the Venerable brought the enemy to action. The wind had very nearly failed; there were only light airs, and the Cæsar's boats were endeavouring to tow her into action. Shortly after it became entirely calm; and at six, a light breeze coming off the land, and dispersing the smoke from the ships engaged, discovered the Venerable with her main-mast gone, and her opponent making off, firing her stern-chase guns. The Venerable's fore-mast went over the side about eight, and she was drifting in

upon the Pedro shoals. Every effort was made by the squadron to assist her; but Sir James Saumarez, observing the remainder of the enemy's ships, amounting to five sail of the line, and four frigates, coming down from the westward, despatched his captain in the gig to the Venerable, with discretionary orders to Captain Hood, to withdraw his men from the ship, and destroy her. The Thames was ordered to close for the purpose of receiving the people; but the gallant Hood had still his resources, of which he most nobly availed himself. The mizen-mast fell just as the Cæsar's boat reached her; the shot from the Formidable were still flying over her; the ship a wreck, and striking heavily on the rocks. Captain Hood requested the Admiral would depend upon his preventing the enemy getting possession of the Venerable; and kept the Thames by him for the purpose of making use of her in case of necessity. The enemy, observing the Superb and Audacious joining from the southward, hauled up for Cadiz. The Venerable got off the shoals, was taken in tow by the Spencer, and, before sunset, was going round Cape Trafalgar *under jury masts, and in such efficient order, as to be fit for action had an enemy appeared.* Need we say more in honour of her captain, officers, and crew?

Thus ended the first battle of Trafalgar, in which the enemy lost three sail of the line; nearly two thousand four hundred men perished in the flames of the ships, besides those that were taken

prisoners. The burning of the Hermenegildo and Real Carlos, is one of the most tragical events recorded in history.

This contention for naval supremacy might be said to have lasted from the 5th to the 13th of July, on which day it terminated to the honour and advantage of Britain; and we are confident we shall receive the sanction of our countrymen, in upholding the examples of the admiral, his captains, and brave followers, as unsurpassed in the annals of naval warfare, and worthy of the imitation of posterity. Keats, in particular, we commend for the gallant manner in which he arrested the flight of the enemy: and Hood, in addition to the high character which he had acquired for valour, displayed a coolness and judgment in the hour of difficulty and danger, which rendered his quarter-deck, on that day, the first school for naval instruction, ever exhibited to an admiring and applauding nation.

The thanks of Parliament, proposed in the House of Lords by Earl St. Vincent, who was at that time first lord of the admiralty, were unanimously carried. His Lordship stated the merits of the action in the bay of Algeziras, in which, though a ship was lost, no honour was lost to the flag; and though Sir James's squadron was so greatly crippled, he was enabled, by the most wonderful exertions, to meet the enemy, who had put to sea with an augmented force; while his own was diminished in the same ratio, by the loss

of the Hannibal, the disabled state of the Pompée, and the separation of the Spencer and Audacious.

"This gallant achievement" (said the Earl) "surpasses every thing I have met with in reading or service; and when the news of it arrived, the whole board, at which I have the honour to preside, were struck with astonishment, to find that Sir James Saumarez, in so very short a time after the affair of Algeziras, had been able, with three ships only, and one of them disabled, especially his own, to come up with the enemy, and with unparalleled bravery to attack them, and obtain a victory highly honourable to himself, and essentially conducive to the national glory." Lord Nelson rose to second the observations of Earl St. Vincent, and was followed by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, who gave his testimony in favour of Sir James and his captains, officers, and men, in the most elegant and ample manner; and the Admiral was requested to make known the vote of the house to his squadron.

For his conduct on this and former occasions, Sir James was created a Baronet; and a pension of 1200*l.* per annum, was settled on him for life.

We close this interesting narrative, with the official letters of the Admiral.

LONDON GAZETTE.

August 1, 1801.

Copy of a letter from Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez, to Evan Nepean, Esq.; dated on board

his Majesty's ship Cæsar, at Gibraltar, the 6th of July.

SIR,

I have to request you will be pleased to inform my lords' commissioners of the Admiralty, that, conformably to my letter of yesterday's date, I stood through the Straits, with his Majesty's squadron under my orders, with the intention of attacking three French line-of-battle ships and a frigate, that I had received information of, being at anchor off Algeziras. On opening Cabrita Point, I found the ships lay at a considerable distance from the enemy's batteries, and having a leading wind up to them, afforded every reasonable hope of success in the attack.

I had previously directed Captain Hood, in the Venerable, from his experience and knowledge of the anchorage, to lead the squadron, which he executed with his accustomed gallantry; and, although it was not intended he should anchor, he found himself under the necessity so to do, from the winds failing (a circumstance so much to be apprehended in this country), and to which circumstance I have to regret the want of success in this well intended enterprise. Captain Sterling anchored opposite to the inner ship of the enemy, and brought the Pompée to action in the most spirited and gallant manner, which was also followed by the commanders of every ship in the squadron.

Captains Darby and Ferris, owing to light winds, were prevented for a considerable time from coming into action; at length the Hannibal getting a breeze, Captain Ferris had the most favourable prospect of being alongside one of the enemy's ships, when the Hannibal unfortunately took the ground; and I am extremely concerned to acquaint their Lordships, that, after having made every possible effort, with this ship and the Audacious, to cover her from the enemy, I was under the necessity to make sail, being at the time only three cables' length from one of the enemy's batteries.

My thanks are particularly due to all the captains, officers, and men under my orders; and although their endeavours have not been crowned with success, I trust the thousands of spectators from his Majesty's garrison, and also the surrounding coast, will do justice to their valour and intrepidity, which were not to be checked by the fire from the numerous batteries, however formidable, that surround Algeziras.

I feel it incumbent upon me to state to their Lordships the great merits of Captain Brenton, of the Cæsar, whose cool judgment and intrepid conduct, I will venture to pronounce were never surpassed. I also beg leave to recommend to their Lordships' notice, my flag-lieutenant, Mr. Philip Dumaresq, who has served with me from the commencement of this war, and is a most deserving officer. Mr. Lamborne, and the other lieutenants, are also entitled to great praise, as well as Captain Maxwell, of the marines, and the officers of his corps serving on board the Cæsar.

The enemy's ships consisted of two of eighty-four guns, and one of seventy-four, with a large frigate: two of the former are aground, and the whole are rendered totally unserviceable.

I cannot close this letter, without rendering the most ample justice to the great bravery of Captain Ferris; the loss in his ship must have been very considerable, both in officers and men; but I have the satisfaction to be informed, that his Majesty has not lost so valuable an officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES SAUMAREZ.

P. S. The honourable Captain Dundas, of his Majesty's polacre, the Calpe, made his vessel as useful as possible, and kept up a spirited fire on one of the enemy's batteries. I have also to express my approbation of Lieutenant Janverin, commander of the gun-boats, who, having joined me with intelligence, served as a volunteer on board the Cæsar.

Cæsar, off Cape Trafalgar, July 13, 1801.

SIR,

It has pleased the Almighty to crown the exertions of this squadron, with the most decisive success over the enemies of their country.

The three French line-of-battle ships, disabled in the action of the 6th instant, off Algeziras, were, on the 8th, reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish line-of-battle ships, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Moreno; and a French ship of seventy-four guns, wearing a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats and other vessels; and got under sail yesterday morning, together with his Majesty's late ship Hannibal, which they had succeeded in getting off the shoal, on which she struck.

I almost despaired of having a sufficient force in readiness, to

oppose to such numbers; but through the great exertions of Captain Brenton, the officers, and men, belonging to the Cæsar, the ship was in readiness to warp out of the mole yesterday morning, and got under weigh immediately after, with all the squadron, except the Pompée; which ship had not time to get in her masts.

Confiding in the zeal and intrepidity of the officers and men I had the happiness to serve with, I determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of this very powerful force to Cadiz. Late in the evening, I observed the enemy's ships to have cleared Cabrita Point; and at eight, I bore up with the squadron, to stand after them: his Majesty's ship Superb, being stationed a-head of the Cæsar, I directed Captain Keats to make sail, and attack the sternmost ships, in the enemy's rear; using his endeavours to keep in shore of them. At eleven, the Superb opened her fire close to the enemy's ships; and, on the Cæsar's coming up, and preparing to engage a three-decker, that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to have taken fire; and the flames having communicated to a ship to leeward of her, both were seen in a blaze, and presented a most awful sight. No possibility existing of offering the least assistance, in so distressing a situation, the Cæsar passed to close with the ship engaged by the Superb; but, by the cool and determined fire kept upon her, which must ever reflect the highest credit on that ship, the enemy's ship was completely silenced, and soon after hauled down her colours.

The Venerable and Spencer, having at this time come up, I bore up after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail, standing out of the Straits, and lost sight of them during the night. It blew excessively hard till daylight; and in the morning, the only ships in company were the Venerable and Thames, a-head of the Cæsar, and one of the French ships at some distance from them, standing towards the shoal of Conil, besides the Spencer astern coming up.

All the ships immediately made sail, with a fresh breeze; but as we approached, the wind suddenly failing, the Venerable was alone able to bring her to action; which Captain Hood did in the most gallant manner, and had nearly silenced the French ship, when his main-mast (which had been before wounded) was unfortunately shot away, and it coming nearly calm, the enemy's ship was enabled to get off, without any possibility of following her.

The highest praise is due to Captain Hood, the officers, and men of the Venerable, for their spirit and gallantry in the action, which entitled them to better success. The French ship was an eighty-four, with additional guns, on the gunwale.

This action was so near the shore, that the Venerable struck on one of the shoals, but was soon after got off, and taken in tow by the Thames; but with the loss of her masts.

The enemy's ships are now in sight, to the westward, standing in for Cadiz. The Superb and Audacious, with the captured ship, are also in sight, with the Carlotta, Portuguese frigate, commanded by Captain Crawford Duncan, who very handsomely came out with the squadron; and has been of the greatest assistance to Captain Keats, in staying by the enemy's ship captured by the Superb.

I am proceeding with the squadron for Rosier bay, and shall proceed the moment the ships are refitted, to resume my station. No praises, that I can bestow, are adequate to the merits of the officers, and ships' companies of all the squadron, particularly for their unremitted exertions, in refitting the ships at Gibraltar; to which, in a great degree, is to be ascribed the success of the squadron against the enemy.

Although the Spencer and Audacious had not the good fortune to partake of this action, I have no doubt of their exertions, had they come up in time to close with the enemy's ships.

My thanks are also due to Captain Holles, of the Thames; and to the Honourable Captain Dundas, of the Calpe, whose assistance was particularly useful to Captain Keats, in securing the enemy's ship, and enabling the Superb to stand after the squadron, in case of having been enabled to renew the action.

I herewith enclose the names of the enemy's ships.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

J. SAUMAREZ.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

List of the Spanish squadron, which arrived at Cadiz from Ferrol, on the 25th of April, under the command of Don Joaquin De Moreno (Lieutenant-general), as Vice-admiral, and which proceeded to Algeziras-bay, the 9th of July, 1801.

Ships.	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*	
Real Carlos	Capt. Don J. Esquerra	112	burnt.
San Hermenegildo	—— Don J. Emparar	112	burnt.
San Fernando	—— Don J. Malina	80	
Argonauta	—— Don J. Harrera	80	
San Augustina	—— Don R. Jopete	74	
San Antonio (under French colours)		74	taken by the Superb.
Wanton (French lugger)		12	

The Spaniards, flattered by the French Admiral and their own vanity, gave themselves a large share of credit for the capture of the Hannibal; and when the squadron of Moreno was ordered to Algeziras to conduct the fatal prize to Cadiz, the young aristocracy of Spain, crowded on board of the Hermenegildo and Real Carlos to share in the honour of another victory. The sudden conflagration on board of these ships, produced a scene of horror which no pen can describe. The agonized screams of the unhappy crews, deserted by their own countrymen and allies in that dreadful hour, pierced the hearts of their brave conquerors, but to assist them was impossible, while a hostile flag was in sight. Seven sail of the line, besides the Hannibal, still flying before a squadron of not half their force, it was the duty of the British Admiral to leave the burning ships to their fate, and pursue the others till their destruction was completed. Out of two thousand four hundred men, of which the crews of the ships consisted, only forty escaped in one of their launches.

In August, the squadron of frigates, under

the orders of Captain Halsted, of the Phœnix, captured, off Port Longone, the French frigate La Carrere, of forty-four guns (eighteen pounders), and three hundred and fifty-six men: the first ship that brought her to action, was the Pomone, which had two killed and four wounded.

Captain Cockburn, in the Minerve, having joined this squadron on the 2nd of September, with the signal flying for some enemy's frigates, running towards Leghorn; the British ships pursued them so closely, that one of the enemy ran on shore, on the rocks of Vada: she was taken and brought off; her name was the Success, of thirty-two guns, which had been captured by Gantheaume, in February. Another frigate was driven on shore by the Minerve, near the batteries of Leghorn: she struck her colours, and her masts fell over the side. Captain Cockburn boarded her, under a heavy fire, brought away many prisoners, and would have set the ship on fire, but for the wounded men, with which her decks were covered: she was called La Bravoure, an eighteen pound frigate, mounting forty-four guns, and having two hundred and eighty-three men. The capture of this squadron which had been employed in the attack on Porto Ferrajo, reduced the enemy to great distress, and caused their ultimate surrender to our land and sea forces.

The little island of Elba, at this time, had upon it both French and English garrisons. Sir John Warren, on the 12th of September, landed a

body of seamen and marines, who, in conjunction with some land forces, under Lieutenant-colonel Airey, entirely dispossessed the French of their part of the island, taking fifty prisoners, and a great quantity of ammunition.

Captain Rogers, of the Mercury frigate, sent Lieutenant Mather with the boats into the mole of Ancona, to cut out the Bull Dog sloop of war, which had been recently taken by the enemy. Mr. Mather boarded her; drove the Frenchmen below and secured them; then cut her cables, which were made fast to the shore, and towed her out under a heavy fire of round, grape, and musketry from the batteries. But fortune was not favourable to his valour: it fell calm; the vessel drifted by the current back to the shore, and was retaken by a swarm of gun-boats. Lieutenant Mather was more fortunate shortly after, in boarding a pirate among the rocks of Turmite in the Adriatic. She was called Le Tigre, of eight guns and sixty men; lay aground, and was defended by a fort. This being silenced by Lieutenant Wilson of the marines, with a party of his men, and the boats of El Corso, sloop of war, the vessel was hove off and taken out, without loss on our side.

In the month of September following, the Bull Dog was boarded under the batteries of Gallipoli, by the boats of the Champion, commanded by Lord William Stewart, and was brought out in triumph.

Lieutenant W. Wooldridge, in the Pasley,

armed brig, boarded off Cape de Gatt, a Spanish privateer polacre, called the Virgine del Rosario, pierced for twenty guns, mounting only ten, two of which were long twenty-four pounders, and eight long twelves, with ninety-four men. The Spanish captain, first and second lieutenants, with eighteen men were killed, and thirteen wounded: the Pasley had three killed and seven wounded; among the latter was Lieutenant Wooldridge, who for this action was deservedly promoted to the rank of commander.

Captain Newcome was honourably acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial, for the loss of the Albanaise, a bomb-ketch, the crew of which had risen upon him and carried the vessel into an enemy's port. Captain Newcome, after being severely wounded, was overpowered, and his officers were confined below. In the course of the trial Lieutenant Kent refused to give his evidence on oath from some religious scruples, and the court expressed an opinion that he was unfit to hold a commission in his Majesty's service.

*** In the Précis des Evènemens Militaires, vol. 5. p. 70. and vol. 7. p. 117, there are scandalous misstatements of Hillyar's affair at Barcelona, and that of Sir James Saumarez at Algeziras and off Trafalgar; indeed so utterly false that we disdain to transcribe them. No Englishman will believe them *we know*, and the French must believe what their government bids them.

CHAP. III.

Treaty of El Arisch—rejected by Lord Keith—Answer of Kleber —Observations—Letter of Sir S. Smith to Poussielgue—Of Lord Keith to Kleber—Death of the latter—Forces destined for the invasion of Egypt—Assemble in Tetuan-bay—Proceed to Minorca and Malta—Sail thence for Marmorice-bay —Sail thence and arrive in Aboukir-bay—List of regiments and officers under command of Sir R. Abercrombie—Daring enterprise—Escape of the Regenerée—Landing of the British army effected—Severe action and loss of our troops—Battle of the 13th and 21st of March—Death of Sir R. Abercrombie —Surrender of Aboukir castle—The English cut the canal of Alexandria, and render the lake Mareotis navigable—Junction of Turkish forces—Allies advance with British gun-boats to Rosetta—Naval force in the Mediterranean—The surrender of Rhamanie—Capitulation of Cairo—Rear-admiral Blanket in the Red sea—Indian army arrives at Suez under General Baird, and ships of war with troops from England enter the Red sea—Danger and disasters in that navigation —Disappointment of Menou, on the surrender of Belliard— History of Gantheaume's expedition to relieve Egypt.—He is unsuccessful, but captures the Swiftsure, and returns to Toulon—The Iphigenia burnt—Reinforcements arrive from England—Belliard's army embarked, and siege of Alexandria commenced—General Coote lands on the west side of the city—Surrender of Marabout—English ships enter the harbour—Capitulation of Alexandria—Observations—Official letters.

In the London Gazette of the 29th of March, 1800, we find it notified, that a convention had been signed between the commissioners of the Sublime Porte, appointed by the Grand Vizier, and by General Dessaix and M. Poussielgue, appointed by General Kleber; by which it was

agreed, that the French troops should evacuate Egypt, and return to France. This treaty, known by the name of El Arisch, was acceded to by Sir Sidney Smith, and brought home by Major Douglas, of the marines, who had gained a great share of honour to himself and his corps, for the services rendered to the Allies in that country. The Turkish Vice-admiral, Patrona Bey, had been assassinated in a mutiny of the Janissaries at Cyprus; and Sir Sidney, having restored order, in conjunction with the next Turkish naval officer in command, Seid Ali Bey, proceeded to the Damietta branch of the Nile, where great events were in preparation. The following were the articles of the treaty:

1. That the Porte restore to France all possessions which she may have taken from her during the war.

2. That the relations between the Ottoman empire and the French republic, be re-established on the same footing as before the war.

3. That the French army evacuate Egypt, with arms and baggage, whenever the necessary means for such evacuation shall have been procured, and to withdraw to the ports which shall be agreed upon.

On board the Tigre, 8th Nivore, year 8th (29th December, 1799).

(A true copy.) POUSSIELGUE AND DESSAIX.
SIDNEY SMITH.

Considering the situation of the continent in 1799 and 1800, it certainly was desirable that the army of Kleber should not be added to the number of troops, contending against the Allies on the Rhine, in Switzerland, and Italy. Lord Keith, fur-

nished with instructions, founded on these sentiments of the British government, unknown to Sir Sidney Smith, had taken the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean; where, receiving official information of the treaty of El Arisch, he refused his ratification as far as it regarded Great Britain, and addressed the following letter to Kleber.

Queen Charlotte, February 8, 1800.

SIR,

I inform you, that I have received positive orders from his Majesty to consent to no capitulation with the French army under your command in Egypt and Syria, unless they lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war, abandoning all the ships and the stores in the port and citadel of Alexandria to the allied powers; and that in case of such capitulation, I am not at liberty to allow any troops to return to France before they are exchanged.

I think it also proper to inform you, that all the ships having French troops on board, and sailing from that country, furnished with passports signed by others than those that have a right to grant them, will be forced by the officers of the ships which I command, to remain at Alexandria. In short, the vessels which shall be met returning to Europe with passports granted in consequence of a separate treaty with any of the allied powers, shall be detained as prizes, and all persons on board considered as prisoners of war.

(Signed) KEITH.

The letter of Lord Keith was given by Kleber in public orders to his army, and accompanied with the following laconic remark:

Soldiers, we know how to reply to such insolence: prepare for battle.

(Signed) KLEBER.

The threat of the French General was followed by the most intrepid acts: he defeated the Turks,

and regained many important posts, which he had either evacuated, or left in an unguarded state; and the British government seeing their error too late, now wished to ratify the treaty of El Arisch. The rejection of it was certainly an unfortunate measure for Great Britain. Had the whole army of Kleber been upon the Rhine or in Italy, it could not have caused so much expense of blood and treasure, as did its forcible expulsion: it diverted also the employment of a vast armament, naval and military, from the more immediate necessities of the state in the Baltic and on the coast of France.

It appears to have been the determination of the British government, that as the French had sent an army to Egypt, in that country it should remain, till the last man had perished, unless France consented to make a peace upon fair and honourable terms. Whatever may have been the motives of our government, the act certainly placed Sir Sidney Smith in an unpleasant predicament, and he addressed the following letter to Citizen Poussielgue.

On board the Tigre, March 8, 1800.

Sir,

I lost not a moment to repair to Alexandria, as soon as I could complete the provisioning of my ships, in order to inform you in detail, of the obstacles which my superiors have opposed to the execution of any convention, such as I thought it my duty to agree to, not having received the instructions to the contrary, which reached Cyprus on the 22d of February, bearing date the 10th of January. As to myself, I should not hesitate to pass over any arrangement of an old date, in order to support what took place on the 24th and 31st of January; but

it would be only throwing out a snare to my brave antagonists were I to encourage them to embark. I owe it to the French army and to myself to acquaint them with the state of things, which, however, I am endeavouring to change: at any rate I stand between them and the false impressions which have dictated a proceeding of this kind; and as I know the liberality of my superiors, I doubt not, that I shall produce the same conviction on their minds that I feel myself, respecting the business which we concluded. A conversation with you would enable me to communicate the origin and nature of this restriction, and I propose that you should proceed on board an English frigate to the Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, who has newly arrived, in order to confer with him on the subject. I depend much on your abilities and conciliatory disposition, which facilitated our former agreement, in order again to support my reasonings respecting the impossibility of revoking what has been formally settled, after a detailed discussion and mature deliberation. I then propose, Sir, that you should come on board, in order to consult what is to be done in the difficult circumstances in which we are placed. I view with calmness the heavy responsibility to which I am subjected. My life is at stake—I know it; but I should prefer an unmerited death to the preservation of my existence by exposing my honour. I am, with perfect consideration and high esteem, Sir, your very humble servant,

(Signed) WM. SIDNEY SMITH.

Lord Keith had in the interval received fresh instructions, and on the 23d of April his Lordship addressed the following letter to Mons. Poussielgue.

SIR,

I have given no orders or authority against the observance of the convention between the Grand Vizier and General Kleber, having received no orders on this head from the King's ministers. Accordingly, I was of opinion that his Majesty should not take part in it; but since the treaty has been concluded, his Majesty being desirous of shewing his respect for his allies, I have received instructions to allow a passage for the French troops, and I lost not a moment in sending to Egypt

orders to permit them to return to France without disturbance. At the same time I thought it my duty to my King, and those of his allies, whose states lie in the seas through which they are to pass, to require that they should not return in a mass, nor in ships of war, nor in armed ships. I wished likewise that the cartels should carry no merchandise, which would be contrary to the law of nations. I have likewise asked of General Kleber, his word of honour, that neither he nor his army would commit any hostilities against the coalesced powers, and I doubt not that General Kleber will find the conditions perfectly reasonable. Captain Hay* has received my orders to allow you to proceed to France with Adjutant-general Cambis, as soon as he arrives at Leghorn.

(Signed) KEITH.

This letter produced no farther amicable arrangement: the French army continued its operations; and the British squadron blockaded the coast of Egypt until the following year; the intermediate time being occupied in the siege and blockade of Genoa and Malta, and the fruitless summons of Cadiz; after which the British fleet and its numerous convoy of transports went over to Tetuan-bay on the coast of Barbary, to complete its water and obtain a supply of fresh provisions. Here they met with so much bad weather that the ships lost between sixty and eighty anchors and cables. In the mean time the brave but unfortunate Kleber fell by the hand of an assassin, an event which completed the ruin of the French cause in Egypt.

It was long doubtful how this fine army should be employed; but the surrender of Malta, and the battle of Hohenlinden, where Moreau, in the

* The late Capt. John Baker Hay, Royal Navy.

December preceding, had defeated the Austrians, probably decided the British cabinet to prepare for the invasion of Egypt.

In no events of our history has the military honour of Britain been carried to a greater degree of splendour, than in our transactions in Egypt; whether we consider the landing in presence of a superior force, or the decided superiority of courage and conduct in our soldiers and sailors. It was on the sands of Egypt, that the modern French first learned to form a proper estimate of the character of a British soldier.

France can never blot from her history the records of her defeats and her infamy in that unhappy country, where the wrongs of the Egyptians were avenged by the valour and magnanimity of Great Britain.

Our forces were ordered to rendezvous during the winter months, at Minorca and Malta. About the middle of December, 1800, Lord Keith, accompanied by Rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, had collected the whole of the force in the harbour of Valette; whence, on the 20th, the first division sailed for the harbour of Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania in Asia Minor. The second division arrived on the 31st of January; and the Commanders-in-chief lost no time in putting their men and ships into the most efficient state for the intended campaign. The ships of war and transports were immediately supplied with as much fuel and water as they could stow; the troops were exercised

in the mode of getting into the boats, landing and retreating in every variety of circumstances. This judicious management, while it conduced both to the health of the men, and their perfection in the art of war, allowed the agents of transports to clean and ventilate their vessels. A great part of the troops were landed and placed under tents, and the wonderful sight of a British fleet at anchor in this noble harbour, excited the admiration and astonishment of the timid Asiatics. Three weeks were well and profitably employed in this manner; and on the 20th of February, the fleet unmoored, and sailed on the 23d for the coast of Egypt. The number of vessels assembled on this occasion, including hired Greeks, amounted to one hundred and seventy-five sail. A gale of wind soon compelled the Greeks, and some of the smaller vessels, to run for Cyprus; while the Admiral continued his course to the place of his destination, where he was to expect an unhealthy climate, with every local disadvantage, and every possible privation. Maps and charts of the coast or interior were scarce, and not to be depended on. The only persons acquainted with the coast were, Captain the Honourable Courtney Boyle, who had been shipwrecked near Damietta, and taken prisoner by the French, and Sir Sidney Smith, who was serving with Lord Keith in the expedition.

Names of ships and captains employed on the expedition to Egypt.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Captains.*
Foudroyant	80	Admiral Lord Keith P. Beaver, W. Young
Ajax	80	Honourable A. F. Cochrane
Minotaur	74	Thomas Louis
Northumberland	74	George Martin
Tigre	74	Sir W. Sidney Smith, Knight.
Swiftsure (taken in June by Gantheaume)	74	Benjamin Hallowell
Kent	78	Rear-adm. Sir R. Bickerton William Hope
Flora	36	Robert Middleton
Penelope	36	Henry Blackwood
Trusty	50	Alexander Wilson
Pique	36	James Young
Greyhound	32	Charles Ogle
Determinée	32	John Clarke Serle
Dictator	64	James Hardy
Delft (flute)	64	Robert Reduill
Inflexible (ditto)	64	Benjamin Wm. Page
Europa (ditto)	50	James Stephenson
Stately	64	George Scott
Braakel (flute)	54	George Clarke
Santa Dorotea	36	Hugh Downman
Diadem	64	John Larmour
Florentina	36	John Broughton
Renown	74	* Rear-admiral Sir J. Warren F. L. Maitland
Commanders.		
Expedition (flute)	44	Thomas Wilson
Charon (ditto)	44	Richard Bridges
Renommée (ditto)	36	Peter M'Kellar
Tonterelle (ditto)	32	John Furgusson
Modeste (ditto)	36	Martin Hinton
Cynthia (ditto)	18	John Dick
Astrea (ditto)	32	Peter Robolian

* Joined the fleet in May; there were some other ships with him, but their names we cannot obtain.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Tartarus (bomb)		Thomas Haud
Termagant	18	Wm. Skipsey
Eurus (flute)	32	Dan. Oliv. Guion
Druid (ditto)	32	Charles Apthorpe
Resource (ditto)	28	John Crispo
Alligator (ditto)	28	George Bowen
Romulus (ditto)	36	John Culverhouse
Vestal (ditto)	28	Valentine Collard
Thetis (ditto)	36	Henry E. R. Baker
Regulus (ditto)	44	Thomas Pressland
Inconstant (ditto)	36	John Ayscough
Thisbe (ditto)	28	John Morrison
Hebe (ditto)	38	George Reynolds
Winchelsea (ditto)	32	John Hatley
Transfer (sloop)		John Nicholas
Roebuck (flute)	44	John Buchanan
Experiment (ditto)	44	John G. Saville
Cyclops (ditto)	28	John Fyffe
Pallas (ditto)	32	Joseph Edmonds
Heroine (ditto)	32	John Hill
Ulysses (ditto)	44	George Sayer
Dido (ditto)	28	David Colby
Fury (bomb)		Richard Curry
Dolphin (flute)	44	James Dalrymple
Minorca (sloop)	16	George Millar
Blonde (flute)	32	John Burn
Victorieuse (sloop)	14	John Richards
Port Mahon (ditto)	16	Wm. Buchanan
Pegasus (flute)	28	John Pengelly
Iphigenia (ditto)	32	Hassard Stackpoole
Niger (ditto)	32	James Hillyar
Petterell (sloop)	18	Charles Inglis
Cameleon (ditto)		Edwd. O'Bryen
Mondovi (ditto)		John Stewart
Ceres (flute)	32	James Russell

The forces under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, amounted to about fifteen thousand men, of whom not more than twelve thousand were fit to take the field.

List of the regiments and general officers employed in Egypt, 1801.

Guards	Major-general Ludlow.
1st or Royal, 2nd Battalion 2 Battalions, 54th 92nd	Major-general Coote.
8th 13th 90th	Major-general Craddock.
2nd, or Queen's 50th 79th	Major-general Lord Cavan.
18th 30th 44th 89th	Brigadier-general Doyle.
Minorca De Rolles Dillon's	Major-general Stuart.
Reserve.	
40th, Flank Company 23rd 28th 42nd 58th Corsican Rangers Detach. 11th Dragoons Do. Hompesch's regiment	Major-general Moore. Brigadier-general Dilkes.
12th Dragoons 26th Dragoons	Brigadier-general Finch.
Artillery and Pioneers	Brigadier-general Lawson.

According to the "Memoirs of Napoleon," vol. 1. p. 97. we are to believe, that Menou, who had succeeded Kleber in the command of the army, had in different garrisons of Egypt thirty thousand men.

It must be allowed, even according to the calculation of the supposed strength of the enemy, that to attack with such a force as ours, the possessors of a country, strengthened by the advan-

tages of fortified posts, a numerous cavalry, a powerful artillery, and a perfect acquaintance with those few points where a debarkation was practicable, was an enterprise of the most desperate character. What then must be the astonishment of all military men at the success of the expedition, when the real force of the enemy is ascertained?

Soon after the British fleet had sailed, one of the Greek transports foundered with a cargo of mules, and others, under the same flag, parted company from bad sailing: so that our force was still farther reduced in number of cavalry and artillery horses, with which these vessels were laden.

On the 26th of February, the fleet was joined by his Majesty's ship La Pique, commanded by Captain Young, who had under his orders a number of transports laden with provisions. On the 1st of March, the look-out ship made the Arab's Tower, and on the following morning the fleet anchored in Aboukir-bay: the ships of war lying nearly on the spot where the battle was fought, and the cables of the Foudroyant were said to have been chafed by the wreck of the Orient. It was a serious loss to the army, and a bad omen of its future success, to learn, on its arrival, that Major Makarras, an enterprising officer, who had been despatched to gain intelligence, had been killed, and Major Fletcher, who accompanied him, had been taken prisoner.

On the morning of the 2nd of March, a French frigate was seen running into Alexandria, where

she anchored in safety. It appeared afterward that her name was the Regenerée; that she had been in company with the British fleet the whole of the preceding day, having joined them in the night; that she had answered all the signals, and was so admirably conducted as never once to excite suspicion. She brought with her six hundred artillerymen, besides ordnance and other stores; a supply of vast importance at that time to Menou. The frigates Egyptienne and Justice had got in a short time previously, with similar cargoes; and on the night between the 2nd and 3rd, the Lodi brig also got into the same port.

The continuance of bad weather prevented any movement among the troops or boats for one week; a misfortune to us, and an advantage to the enemy, of which they ably availed themselves. On the morning of the 8th, at two o'clock, the first division of the army, consisting of the reserve, under the orders of Major-general Moore, the brigade of guards under Major-general Ludlow, with some other battalions, amounting to about five thousand men, the whole commanded by Major-general Coote, assembled in the boats; while the remainder of the first and second brigades were placed on board of ships near the shore, in order to be ready to give immediate support, after the first landing was effected. So great was the extent of ground occupied by the fleet, that it was not till nine o'clock in the morning, that the whole of these

gallant men were prepared to land, in face of an enemy on a commanding height.

The bay of Aboukir appears to have been the only spot known to the Admiral on the coast of Egypt, adapted for the disembarkation, and where a constant intercourse could be kept up with the fleet, on which the army was entirely dependant for its support. Sir Sidney Smith, who had previously reconnoitred the ground, instructed the men, that where date trees grew they would find fresh water by digging; and this proved to be invariably the case.

The arrangement for landing the troops was completed under the superintendence and management of Captain William Young; who, on joining the Admiral, received the appointment of captain of the fleet, a situation which he filled with great advantage to his country.

The number of flat boats was sixty, each conveying fifty soldiers.—There were ninety-three launches or long boats, each conveying on an average thirty soldiers.—One hundred and forty-two rowing-boats, each containing (besides their crews) eight soldiers.—Fourteen launches, each having a field-piece and her own carronade, twenty-five seamen and eight artillerymen, besides boats' crews; and fourteen rowing-boats to tow them.

The number of troops landed was . . .	6544
Seamen and artillerymen	462
Total . . .	7006

Six launches were in the centre, two on each wing, and two between the wing and the centre. These were all towed by the boats of the ships of war, and kept in exact line with the flat boats, landing at the same moment. All long boats and launches, having either troops or ordnance stores, were towed by the ships' boats in the rear of the flat boats; and these were also followed by other rowing-boats, to pick up men in case of accidents. The flat boats were not towed, but rowed by the crews appointed to them.

The boats carrying the same regiments were next to each other, so that each company on landing found itself as it should stand on parade; and the exact line abreast was so well preserved, that all the boats with troops and guns touched the beach at the same moment. The men formed in line, fired, charged, and advanced, with a coolness and precision that must have had a powerful effect in checking the ardour of their opponents. The field-pieces, placed on skids in the launches, were landed with ease and celerity, and commenced firing almost at the same moment with the infantry. These guns were brought into action by the seamen, five-and-twenty being attached to each with drag-ropes.

Captain the Honourable A. Cochrane, of the Ajax, led this division in his gig: from the centre he gave the signal to advance, and was answered by the animating cheers of the soldiers and sailors; the boats gallantly rushing in, and the crews vying with

each other to gain the beach, and be the first to land. The care of the artillery was intrusted to Sir Sidney Smith of the Tigre, with the Captains Riboleau, Guion, Saville, Burn, and Hillyar. The Tartarus and Fury bombs, threw shells into the enemy's camp, while the Petterel, Carnation, and Minorca sloops, with their broadsides to the beach, kept up a constant fire on the French columns.

Captains Stevenson, Scott, Larmour, Apthorpe, and Morrison, of the Europa, Stately, Diadem, Druid, and Thisbe troop-ships, conducted their respective sub-divisions.

The French were not idle spectators of this beautiful and animating scene, and their arrangements were well adapted to meet the meditated attack. The ascent from the water's edge was a steep and loose sand, terminating in broken rock. On the top of this ridge they had placed heavy guns and mortars, filling up the intervals between each battery with strong bodies of infantry, who were concealed by the sand-hills, so that their position was not known till they fired. Their flanks were protected by a body of cavalry, a force with which our army was at that time unprovided; and heavy artillery enfiladed the beach from each wing of their intrenchments.

This grand display of military parade and valour was never perhaps surpassed in interest, in the annals of war; and awful was the short suspense between the putting off from the Mondovi, and the opening of the enemy's fire. The three

first shots were to try the distance; and when it was ascertained that the boats were within the reach of grape, the whole line of artillery from right to left began a fire, which converted the surface of the water into a sheet of foam. Shot and shells fell in showers among the boats; broke the oars, wounded some men, killed others, and sunk one boat with fifty of the Coldstream guards. The answer to this salute was three cheers, and "Huzza my boys; give way,* and let's be at them." Redoubling their energy and straining every sinew, the seamen plied their oars; the soldiers backed them, impatient to reach the land; and scarcely giving the boats time to touch the beach, they leaped on the shore, formed in line, received a charge from the enemy's cavalry, dispersed it, pushed forward, gained the summit, and routed the infantry, while the rest of the army were disembarking. The seamen, having landed their guns and stores, instantly returned to the ships for the second division.

The French, it must be admitted, met their invaders with the same gallantry as the Britons encountered the first Roman army on the shores of Kent. They came down so close as to use their sabres; and a soldier placed the muzzle of his piece to the head of Lieut. H. Jolliffe, of the Guards; the ball passed through his hat, and the daring Frenchman fell dead pierced with British bayonets.

* "Give way," means exert yourselves, to increase the way or velocity of the boat.

The troops, which first ascended the hills, were the 23rd regiment, and four flank companies of the 40th, under the command of Colonel Spencer. The 28th and 42nd landed under the command of Brigadier-general Oakes, who was attached to the reserve under Major-general Moore. The disembarkation was completed on the 8th; and the body which first landed moving forward immediately, came within sight of the enemy, who were drawn up on an advantageous ridge, with their right to the canal of Alexandria, and their left to the sea.

After some skirmishing, but no regular engagement, the French fled, leaving the British masters of the narrow field of battle, from which they soon extended themselves, expelled the invaders, and restored Egypt to its lawful sovereigns.

The whole of the first division having landed before night, were joined by General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who bestowed his high commendation upon the two professions, whose only contention was, which should render the greater services to their country and to each other.

From the castle of Aboukir on his right, and the cut of the isthmus on his left, the British General advanced with his army three miles on the neck of sand lying between the sea and the lake of Aboukir, leaving a distance of about four miles between the British and French camps. In this position the armies remained till the 13th, when the British marched forward to attack the French,

who occupied a strong position on some rising ground. Our troops moved in two lines from the left; the reserve covering the movement on the right. A division of gun-boats and launches, with carronades, under the command of Captains Maitland and Hillyar, accompanied the army, and covered its wings on the lake of Aboukir and the sea.

The enemy's cavalry descended from the heights, and made a furious charge, which was repelled by the 90th and 92nd regiments. The British steadily advancing, the French retreated to their lines, on the heights before Alexandria; in effecting which they were charged by Dillon's regiment, who took two of their guns, which were immediately turned against their former possessors.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie, determined to pursue his advantage, pressed on, and was nobly seconded by the Generals Hutchinson and Moore. General Hutchinson, instantly occupying an eminence, detached the 44th regiment to carry a bridge on the canal of Alexandria, which was accomplished in great military style: but here the French made a stand; and our gallant troops, exposed to a most destructive fire, were mowed down by their artillery with almost comparative impunity. After sustaining the murderous cannonading during the greater part of the day, the General retreated at sunset, with the loss of eleven hundred men killed and wounded.

The castle of Aboukir capitulated on the 18th,

and on the same day the Capitan Bey arrived with a Turkish squadron, consisting of two ships of the line, four frigates, and corvettes, and some smaller vessels of the country.

On the 20th a column of infantry and cavalry was seen entering Alexandria. An Arab chief, it is said, sent a letter to Sir Sidney Smith, informing him of the arrival of General Menou, with a large army, and that it was his intention to attack and surprise the British camp the next morning. Although this intelligence did not receive much credit at head-quarters, it was soon amply confirmed.

At half-past three on the morning of the 21st, the enemy attacked the right of our army, and the action became general. Never was British valour more conspicuous, never were men more fatally undeceived than the French, on this occasion; when judging from the events in Holland and Belgium, they had fondly flattered themselves that they should drive the "*cowardly English into the sea.*" Although possessing an immense superiority of cavalry and artillery, the French were, at all points, defeated; and, but for the want of ammunition on our side, their army would have been annihilated. Menou retired in good order, and the action ceased at ten o'clock in the morning; our troops being left masters of the field of battle, although with a victory dearly purchased.

The captains of the navy, serving on shore with the army, attended to the artillery in the great

battery. The sailors carried the ammunition, and kept up the supply, as well as a deep sand and the distance of transportation would admit. The Turks also assisted at this work, but were much retarded by their timid custom of lying down to avoid a shot.

Captain M'Kellar, of the Royal Navy, commanded the division of gun-boats at the entrance of the lake. The division stationed on the right of the army, under the command of Captain Maitland, of the Royal Navy, was attacked by a body of the enemy, sent for the express purpose; and who, on a commanding elevation, within half musket-shot, poured a heavy fire upon them. They, however, kept their position, and compelled their assailants to retreat.

Sir Sidney Smith having broken his sword, Sir Ralph Abercrombie presented him with his own, on the field of battle; a precious memorial, if we associate with the gift itself the character of the men, the scene, the occasion, and the events! The General and Sir Sidney were both wounded; but the gallant Abercrombie was doomed never to revisit the land, for which he had fought and bled. He received a wound by musket-shot, in the upper part of his thigh, and was soon after removed to the Foudroyant, where he expired on the 28th of March: his body was conveyed to Malta, and was interred with military honours. Besides the lamented chief, we lost in the different battles as follow:

Return of killed and wounded in the battles.

	Officers.		Non-commissioned.		Rank and file, including drummers.		Naval officers.		Seamen.	
	K.	*W.*	*K.*	*W.*	*K.*	*W.*	*K.*	*W.*	*K.*	*W.*
March 8	4	26	4	34	94	455			20	63
March 13	6	67	6	65	144	953		1	5	18
March 21	10	60	9	48	224	1082	1	2	3	18

The forces of the contending armies on that day, by the most accurate returns, were as follow:—

French, including 1,500 cavalry	9,700
British, by reduction from various casualties, did not amount, including 300 cavalry, to	10,000

The fate of Egypt was not decided by this victory, although it must be admitted that our army derived great benefit from the success. The Arabs, who beheld the battle, were convinced that the British forces would remain masters of Egypt, and they flocked into the camp with provisions of every kind.

Our forces by land and sea owed their success in some measure to circumstances of apparently local disadvantage, but which by accident and ingenuity were converted into sources of annoyance and discomfiture to the enemy. In the recent affair of the 21st, General Roiz had fallen, and in his pocket was found a letter from Menou, expressing a fear that the English had cut the canal of Alexandria, and thus let the waters of the Mediterranean into Lake Mareotis. From that moment the project was decided on; though the Com-

mander-in-chief gave his consent with great reluctance, it was hailed with the unanimous shouts of both army and navy as the sure means of destruction to the enemy. No sooner were the gaps completed, than the water rushed in with an impetuosity almost terrific to the spectators.

The city of Alexandria now became invested: on the north, by sea and the British fleet; on the south, by the waters of the lake, covered with our gun-boats and armed launches; on the east of the town, occupying the breadth of the peninsula, was the army of General Hutchinson. The west only remained open, and on that side we shall soon see the enemy enclosed, and the investment completed.

A marine battalion served in Egypt, formed by detachments from the different ships of war, and commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Smith: they were attached to the brigade of Major-general Coote.

On the 25th of March, the Captain Pacha, with five sail of the line, and five thousand Turks and Albanians, arrived in the bay of Aboukir. Colonel Spencer was detached to Rosetta with four thousand Turks and a body of British troops. On the 9th of May he defeated General La Grange, at Rhamanie, and entered that place without opposition. The land forces were attended in their progress up the Nile by a strong escort of British gun-boats and launches, under the command of Captain Stevenson, supported by Cap-

tains Morrison, Curry, and Hillyar, of the Royal Navy. These valuable auxiliaries proceeded with courage and success, and were so fortunate as to bring their guns to bear on the French cavalry, which they greatly annoyed in its retreat. Lieutenant Hobbs of the Delft, of sixty-four guns, was killed with some of his men; but in other respects the loss was trifling, when compared with the advantages derived from the combined movement. The fleet under the command of Lord Keith, employed at this time in the Mediterranean station, consisted of

Two ships of	80 guns
Eleven of	74
Seven of	64
Four of	50
Eleven of	44
Forty frigates from	38 to 24
Sixteen sloops from	18 to 16

Three bombs, and a number of gun-boats and schooners; besides the Turkish auxiliaries of five sail of the line, frigates, and sloops.

Most of the sixty-fours, fifties, forty-fours, and many of the frigates, were fitted as troop-ships, with a short complement of men, only half their guns, and with light masts and yards. The advantage of this mode of transporting an army was admirably displayed in this memorable campaign.

By our possession of Rhamanie the movements of the French in Egypt were considerably impeded; communication between the armies of Belliard at Cairo, and Menou at Alexandria, was effectually cut off; and the passage of the Nile was guarded

by our naval force, and our heavy artillery on its banks. Thus the happy co-operation of the army and navy prepared the way for the final evacuation of Egypt by the French; who, from the time of their embarking at Toulon, had experienced nothing but misfortune, disgrace, and misery.

On the 14th of May, a valuable convoy of Dgermes, loaded with wine, spirits, clothing, and specie, for the army, was intercepted by our forces, on its way down the Nile; and on the 17th the army effected the capture of a body of six hundred men, and a convoy of five hundred and fifty camels, laden with provisions.

The French were still in Cairo, and held Geza with other strong places. The British General advancing upon them, in conjunction with the Grand Vizier, his Turkish ally, and the army under his command, compelled Belliard to sign the capitulation of Cairo on the 27th of June; and to evacuate that place and Geza on the 15th of July; just a fortnight before the inundations of the Nile would have put a stop to the operations of a besieging army.

The French who landed in Egypt, to expel us from India, little expected that a British army from that quarter of the world, would help to drive them back to Europe. As soon as the Marquis Wellesley heard of the object of the French General, he desisted from an expedition against Manilla, which he had in contemplation: an overland despatch from England having reached Admiral

Rainier at the same time, acquainting him that the French intended setting up the frames of ships of war at Suez, previously prepared in France, the Centurion of fifty guns, Captain J. S. Rainier, was despatched from Bombay. She arrived at Mocha, in December, 1798, and found there the Albatross brig of war. From reports which came down from Egypt, Captain Rainier judged it expedient to proceed up to Suez: and these two were, we believe, the first British vessels of war that had ever visited the head of the Red sea. On his return from Suez, Captain Rainier found Rear-admiral Blanket at Mocha, in the Leopard of fifty guns, with the Dædalus of thirty-two, and the Orestes of eighteen guns.

Rear-admiral Blanket, having acquired much local knowledge by this voyage, was sent again in the following year, to conduct the Indian army; when he was joined by Sir Home Popham, in the Romney. Admiral Blanket dying soon after, Captain Surridge, who commanded the Leopard, returned to Bombay, leaving the direction of the naval forces under the able management of Sir Home Popham. The squadron was three months working up to Suez, which it did not reach till April. Colonel Lloyd, who commanded the detachment in these ships, instantly proceeded to join the British forces on the banks of the Nile before Cairo, and effected the junction after one of the most painful marches ever accomplished; some of his men having perished with thirst in the

desert. The distance from Suez to Cairo is about fifty-eight miles; but he was advised by the guides to make it more circuitous, in order to avoid a superior force of the enemy.

The army of General Baird, which had been collected from Bengal and Madras, rendezvoused at Columbo in the island of Ceylon, and had a very long passage to the place of its destination. It was not till the 30th of June that he reached Kenneh, on the banks of the Nile; nor till the latter end of July, that he had assembled the principal part of his forces, which amounted to six thousand rank and file, including royal and Bengal horse artillery. The junction of Sir Home Popham, in the Romney of fifty guns, and Captain Sauce in the Sensible, of thirty-two, with a detachment from the Cape of Good Hope, proves the admirable arrangement and good fortune of our government, and the judicious selection of its officers to carry its plans into execution.

The vessels sailed from the Cape on the 28th of February, 1801, and were followed on the 30th of March, by the Sheerness, forty-four, armed en flute, commanded by Captain J. S. Carden, and the Wilhelmina, by the late Sir James Lind. The 61st regiment, which they conveyed to Cossier, landed on the 10th of July, after a passage of sixteen weeks from England, and had scarcely one sick man, out of nine hundred. The army of General Baird immediately marched for Cairo, sending forward Captain Mahany with a party to dig

wells; a precaution from which they derived important benefit.

The navigation of the Red sea, hitherto so little known, was found by our officers to be a more arduous undertaking than any other they had encountered. Rocks and shoals innumerable opposed their passage, so that to run in the night time was impossible; and in spite of every exertion of skill and seamanship, seventeen sail of vessels were lost, and the remainder reached Mocha and Cossier with the greatest difficulty. At the latter place, on the west side of the Red sea, the army disembarked, and marched through the desert to join the British army, on the banks of the Nile. Mocha and Cossier are but indifferent harbours: the latter is shoal, and open on the east and south. None of the harbours in the Red sea are good: that of Jedda appears to be the best, but its entrance is so narrow as to render it dangerous to the most skilful pilots; and La Forte, a noble English frigate, was wrecked on the sunken rock, which nearly blocks up the entrance. On the 23d of June, another reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, Chasseurs, Britanniques, and Wattevilles, arrived in the bay of Aboukir from Malta; and on the 16th of August, General Sir John Hutchinson landed from the Foudroyant, and took the command of the forces besieging Alexandria.

In the meanwhile the French army of Cairo embarked at Rosetta, and the British officers beheld with astonishment near ten thousand men,

with fifty pieces of artillery and ammunition, defile before them, besides an irregular body of natives. The arms and artillery remained with us.

Nothing could exceed the mortification and disappointment of Menou, when made acquainted with the surrender of Cairo. He had calculated, and with much reason, on the firmness of that garrison, until the inundation of the Nile should have compelled our army to embark; and the expected arrival of Gantheaume, with succours, would have enabled him to bid defiance to our united forces of army and navy; but the French army unanimously desired to return to their country. Brave as the troops of that nation certainly were, they could not endure to face death in the horrible shapes with which it made its appearance on the shores of Egypt; nor could the promises of reward or the fear of punishment, restrain the army of Belliard from open demonstrations of their wishes.

Admiral Gantheaume, it appears, sailed from Brest on the 23d of January, 1801, with a squadron of seven sail* of the line and two frigates, having on board a land force of five thousand men,

* L'Indomptable	80	La Bravoure	40
Le Formidable		La Creole	
L'Indivisible		Le Vautour (lugger)	
La Constitution	74		
Le Dix Aout			
Le Dessaix			
Le Jean Bart			

Précis des Evénemens Militaires, vol. 7. p. 96.

and a quantity of provisions. With these, his orders were to proceed to Egypt, and to put them on shore at all hazards. Dispersed by a gale of wind on the night of their departure, they were seen by the Concorde, which engaged the Bravoure, and gave the account of their escape to Sir Henry Hervey, off Ushant; and while Sir Robert Calder, detached in pursuit of him, steered for Barbadoes, Gantheaume, on the 6th of February, entered the Mediterranean, and rejoined all his squadron on the 10th, off Cape de Gat. Sir John Warren, who lay in the bay of Gibraltar, unprepared for sea, despatched the Incendiary sloop, to watch his motions; but that vessel was captured, together with the Success frigate and Sprightly cutter, and by them the Admiral was informed that Lord Keith had already arrived in Aboukir-bay. This false intelligence was the cause of his failure: he hauled over from the coast of Africa to the shores of Europe, and entered Toulon with his prizes. Sailing again on the 19th of March, he was closely pursued by Sir John Warren, who, reaching the coast of Egypt on the 25th of April, obliged the fugitive Admiral to abandon his design, and return once more to Toulon.

After the siege of Porto Ferrajo, at which he assisted, Gantheaume again set sail for Egypt, taking with him three Neapolitan frigates, which the peace between France and Naples had put into his power; but sickness, from the crowded state of his ships, obliged him to send back Rear-

admiral Linois, with three sail of the line and a frigate. This officer, after some refreshment at Toulon, was ordered to Cadiz; but on his way thither learning that the port was blockaded by Sir James Saumarez, he put into Algeziras, where that gallant officer attacked him. The persevering Gantheaume, still eluding the search of Sir John Warren, attempted, about the 8th of June, to land his troops four leagues to the westward of the Arabs' Tower; but being discovered by the cruisers of Lord Keith, he cut his cables and put to sea with great precipitation. Five of his transports were taken on the 7th of May: they had no troops on board, but artists of all kinds. Rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, with three English, and one Turkish, line-of-battle ships, went in pursuit of him, but without success.

Returning from his third and last attempt, he fell in, on the 24th of June, with the Swiftsure of seventy-four guns, commanded by Captain (now Sir Benjamin) Hallowell. They were between the coast of Africa and the island of Candia. The British ship was much out of repair, her copper worn off, and her sails and rigging, after long services, not in a state to render her effective. Captain Hallowell did his utmost to avoid the enemy on such unequal terms; but was very soon left without an alternative, and brought to close action, which he kept up for an hour; when, finding resistance vain, he surrendered. Gantheaume

received his prisoner with a nobleness creditable to both parties. Respecting Captain Hallowell for his brave defence, he gave him on his coming on board a guard of honour, with permission to distribute his men in the French ships, as he might judge most convenient, with authority also to regulate, and if necessary to punish them; and he was scrupulously exact as to the private property of the prisoners.

The conduct of Gantheaume is the more praiseworthy, as he had been thrice repulsed from his object by the persevering vigilance of our navy. In all instances like this, we shall not fail to do justice to virtue the most honourable to our nature, and the most cheering in the melancholy recital of human suffering.

After the surrender of Cairo the plague had broke out at Aboukir, and carried off some of our countrymen, and the ophthalmia began to make dreadful ravages among our troops.

On the 20th of June, the Iphigenia, a British frigate, of thirty-two guns, armed en flute, took fire and blew up in the bay; but no lives were lost. Reinforcements continued to arrive from England: the Leda and Active frigates, the Madras of fifty-four guns, and Agincourt of sixty-four, all came in succession with troops, money, and stores. On the 18th, the Monmouth of sixty-four guns, brought the 24th regiment, and a convoy from Minorca, with a considerable reinforcement; making the army under General Coote, before Alexandria, amount to nine thousand effective men.

The nearer our army approached to Alexandria, the louder Menou proclaimed, as all French generals under similar circumstances do, that he meant to bury himself in the ruins of the city, which was now held in the most rigorous blockade by land and sea. Such a declaration is usually the prelude to a surrender.

Nothing remained for our forces to complete their arduous labours, but the reduction of this place, which contained within its walls, and its harbour, all the French force in Egypt of men or ships, the wreck of that mighty host, which had landed from Toulon in 1798. Scarcely had our army with that of the French reached Rosetta, when the Nile had risen thirty feet; while Lord Keith, with his fleet in Aboukir-bay, was busily employed in arranging for the departure of General Belliard's army. The embarkation of this force being completed on the 7th of July, General Hutchinson detached Major-general Coote to occupy the isthmus on the west side of Alexandria, thus completing the circumvallation of the town. Coote's division consisted of four thousand men, and was embarked on the 16th, at seven in the evening, but the landing did not take place till the next morning at ten o'clock, between the town and the castle of Marabout; the siege of which instantly commenced.

It is worthy of remark, that the lake, on which Major-general Coote embarked in near four hundred boats of different descriptions, was pass-

able at the period of the action of the 21st of March, for infantry, cavalry, and artillery; but by cutting through the canal of Alexandria, the waters of lake Aboukir soon restored Mareotis to its former extent. The waters of Mareotis, previously to this cut, by the English, having no supply from exterior sources, had nearly evaporated.*

The French set fire to their flotilla on the lake, attempting to destroy our vessels with them; but the project failed. Marabout stands on a small island at the western side of the harbour, commanding one of the channels of entrance. The principal one having been buoyed off by the officers of the ships of war, the French on the night of the 20th, removed these buoys. The tower of Marabout surrendered on the same day; and Captain the Honourable A. Cochrane of the Ajax, entered the harbour with four British and three Turkish corvettes. As General Coote advanced towards Alexandria, the gun-boats under the command of Captain Stevenson, of the Europa, constantly attended him, and rendered important services. The navy had now the possession of the harbour so far as to co-operate with the army, which had taken up a position within fourteen hundred yards of the town. The place was pressed and hemmed in on every side; the army of General Hutchinson east and west, the navy north and south, in the harbour, and on the lake.

* Walsh's Campaigns in Egypt, p. 212.

Menou began to feel that his power was at an end; as the probability of relief from France was too distant to afford a ray of hope. He demanded an armistice, which very soon led to a final capitulation; hastened no doubt by the welcome intelligence, which reached the British camp, that the forces from India, under the command of General Baird, were within two days' march of Rosetta. The capitulation was ratified on the 2nd of September, by Lord Keith and General Hutchinson; and the French General and his army were to embark for France, upon the same terms as had been granted to the garrison of Cairo.

The number of effective men, found in Alexandria, amounted to nine thousand, exclusively of sick and staff; there were also three hundred and twelve pieces of cannon, fourteen thousand filled cartridges, and one hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds of powder.

Thus terminated this unjust invasion. The vast armament, which in June, 1798, had sailed from Toulon, to subvert the British empire in India, was first defeated by Nelson, checked in its advance to Syria by Sir Sidney Smith, routed on shore by the immortal Abercrombie, followed up by Lord Keith and General Hutchinson to Cairo, and finally compelled to surrender. Having thus vanquished the cruel invaders, the British General and Admiral beheld the glorious triumph of England achieved by their united endeavours;

and the intruders being sent back in disgrace to France, the victors returned to receive the rewards of their grateful king and country.

Bonaparte consoled himself under these misfortunes, by assuring France that the army of Abercrombie must have been defeated, if Kleber had lived. "How material was the weight of a young fanatic of twenty-four, acting on the faith of a doubtful passage of the Koran, in the general balance of the world."—*Historical Miscellanies*, vol. 1. p. 37. There is in the same work, p. 64. a curious observation on the subject of the "*naval armistice*," proposed by Bonaparte in 1800. "Lord Grenville, the English minister, evinced much surprise at it;" and no wonder: it appears we had consented, that provisions should be admitted into the three blockaded fortresses of Malta, Alexandria, and Belle Isle; but of these only Malta stood in need—"the other *two could have supplied England!*" The *only* advantage which France could have derived from this naval armistice, would have been the re-establishment of her commercial relations between *all her ports and her colonies.* England refused this, with respect to Malta and Egypt. At last France proposed, as an ultimatum, that *in lieu of raising* the blockade of Alexandria, *six frigates* fitted up as store-ships, should be allowed to enter it under a cartel. Thus a reinforcement of four thousand men would have been sent to the army in Egypt! Surely the Chief Consul must have had a very contemptible opinion of our mi-

nisters, to make a proposal so utterly inconsistent with common sense. In these Memoirs, the reader will find an admirable picture of the state of the French army in Egypt, and the views of Bonaparte and the Directory.

Bonaparte, having been in possession of the despatches from Egypt long before they reached England, had a great advantage over the British ministers in the negotiation for peace; the preliminary treaty of which was signed, under the impression in England, that we had still every thing to contend for, while Bonaparte knew that his defeated army was then on its way home. Had the events in Egypt been earlier known to us, we should probably have retained the Cape of Good Hope; which we were afterward forced to reconquer, with all the necessary sacrifice of blood and treasure.

We conclude this chapter with the official letters of Lord Keith.

Foudroyant, off Alexandria, August 27.

SIR,

My letter of the 5th instant acquainted you, for the information of their Lordships, that the embarkation of General Belliard's corps was carrying into execution with all possible despatch; but, on account of the difficulty of getting forward the immense quantity of baggage that they brought with them from Cairo, the operation was protracted till the 8th. The ships of war, as well as the transports, however, were directed to proceed by divisions. The Braakel, with the first division, sailed on the 4th; the Inflexible, Dolphin, and Ulysses, with the second, on the 6th; and the Experiment and Pallas, with the last, on the 10th, carrying with them between thirteen and fourteen thousand individuals of all descriptions.

The army from Cairo moved on forthwith to the camp before

Alexandria; and the General, who did me the honour of spending some days with me while the embarkation of the French was going on, resolved on transporting by the Mareotis, to the westward of Alexandria, a corps of about five thousand men, under the orders of Major-general Coote, to divide the enemy's force and attention, to invest the town closely on that side, and cut off all farther hope of reinforcement or supplies by land. On the 12th, I proceeded with Lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, the quarter-master-general, to examine the enemy's position on the side of the lake, and the strength of the flotilla that they had assembled there; and having ascertained that their armed force could be easily subdued, and that a debarkation could be effected with little or no difficulty, the General determined to carry the measure into immediate effect. To secure the landing from interruption, Captain Stevenson, of the Europa, who is continued in the command of the flotilla, was forthwith directed to take a station in front of the gun-boats and armed boats which the enemy had assembled on the lake, and drawn up in a line under the protection of batteries thrown up for their défence, to keep them in check till they could be seized or destroyed. On the evening of the 16th, all the boats of the ships of war and the transports in this bay, were assembled in the Mareotis, with as many germs as could be collected from the Nile, for the purpose of receiving the troops, who were embarked in the night, and landed without opposition the next morning, under the superintendence of Captain Elphinstone, considerably farther to the westward than was intended, the wind not admitting of the boats reaching the shore nearer to the town; the enemy, seeing no prospect left of saving their armed boats, set fire to them, and blew them all up in the course of this and the following day, except two or three which have fallen into our hands. Whilst the landing was carrying into effect, Captain Sir W. S. Smith, of the Tigre, was directed with some sloops of war and armed boats to make a demonstration of attack upon the town.

On the night of the 17th, Major-general Coote was enabled to establish batteries against Marabout, a small fortified island that protects the entrance into the great harbour of Alexandria, on the western side, and distant from the town about seven or eight miles, which, for many reasons, it was important to possess. Rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, having the command of the squadron blockading the port, directed armed

launches from the ships to co-operate with the troops; and the garrison, consisting of near two hundred men, unequal to farther resistance, surrendered as prisoners of war, on the evening of the 21st. Mr. Hull, midshipman, and one seaman of the Ajax, were killed on this service, and two seamen, of the Northumberland, wounded.

On the afternoon of the same day, the Rear-admiral ordered the Cynthia, Port Mahon, Victorieuse, and Bonne Citoyenne, with three Turkish corvettes, to proceed into the harbour under the direction of the Honourable Captain Cochrane, of the Ajax (a channel having been previously surveyed with great industry and precision by Lieutenant Withers, of the Kent), and on the morning of the 22d, Major-general Coote's detachment moved forward four or five miles, on the narrow isthmus leading to the town, formed by the Mareotis or inundation on the south side, and the harbour on the north; Captain Stevenson, with the gun-vessels on the lake, covering the right flank, and Captain Cochrane, with the sloops of war, and armed boats, protecting their left. The position which the Major-general took up, and that occupied by our little squadron, which has since been reinforced by the Diana, completed the blockade of the town. The Rear-admiral gives great commendation to the Honourable Captain Cochrane, for the zealous and judicious manner in which he executed the service intrusted to him. Soon after our ships entered the harbour, the enemy sunk several vessels between our advanced ships and their vessels in the port, to obstruct our farther progress to the eastward, and moved their frigates and corvettes from Fig-tree Point close up to the town.

General Menou, finding himself closely pressed on the eastward of the town by the Commander-in-chief, who had carried some of the enemy's redoubts, and established strong batteries against their intrenched lines; and on the western side by Major-general Coote, who had, during the preceding night, driven in several of their outposts, and advanced up to an important position, which the enemy seemed conscious of being unable to defend, sent out, on the evening of the 26th, proposals for an armistice of three days, to arrange terms of capitulation, which I have no doubt will soon terminate in the surrender of the town.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

KEITH.

Foudroyant, Bay of Aboukir,
September 2.

SIR,

I have the honour and satisfaction of acquainting you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the important object of this expedition is fully accomplished; a capitulation (of which a copy is enclosed) has been this day signed, providing for the delivery to the allies, to-morrow, of the enemy's intrenched camp on the eastern side of Alexandria, and the fort Tringuluire, and the other important posts on the western side; and for that of the town itself, the public effects and the shipping in the harbour, at the expiration of ten days, or sooner, if the enemy's troops can be sooner embarked. As soon as I can obtain returns of the ships and effects, they shall be transmitted to you. The merchant vessels are very numerous, and one old Venetian ship of the line, with the French frigates Egyptienne, Justice, and Régénéré, and some corvettes, are known to be in port.

Their Lordships will not fail to have observed, from my former details, the meritorious conduct of the officers and men who have been, from time to time, employed on the various duties which the debarkation of the army, and a co-operation with them has required. Though opportunities for brilliant exertion have been few since the 8th of March, the desire for participating in it, has been unremitted. But the nature of this expedition has demanded from most of the officers and seamen of the fleet, and particularly from those of the troop-ships, bomb-vessels, and transports, the endurance of labour, fatigue, and privation, far beyond what I have witnessed before, and which I verily believe to have exceeded all former example; and it has been encountered and surmounted with a degree of resolution and perseverance, which merits my highest praise, and gives both officers and men a just claim to the approbation of their Lordships, and of their country. The number of officers to whom I owe this tribute does not admit of my mentioning them by name; but most of the captains of the troop-ships, have been employed in the superintendence of the duties, and I have had repeated and urgent offers of voluntary service from all. The agents for transports have conducted themselves with laudable diligence and activity in the service of the several departments to which they are attached, and displayed the greatest exertion

and ability in overcoming the numerous difficulties with which they had to contend.

The captains and commanders of the ships appointed for guarding the port, have executed that tedious and anxious duty with diligence and success. During my absence from the squadron, the blockade has been conducted by Rear-admiral Sir R. Bickerton; and justice requires me to mention, that when I was with the squadron, Captain Wilson, of the Trusty, was unwearied in his attention to the direction of all the duties in this bay.

The Captain Pacha has uniformly manifested the most anxious desire of contributing by every means in his power, to the promotion of the service. Having been generally on shore with his troops, the ships have been submitted, by his orders, to my direction, and the officers have paid the most respectful attention to the instructions they have received from me.

Captain Sir Sidney Smith, who has served with such distinguished reputation in this country, having applied to be the bearer of the despatches announcing the expulsion of the enemy; I have complied with his request, and I beg to refer their Lordships to that active and intelligent officer for any particular information relative to this or other parts of the country, on which he has had opportunities of making remarks.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) KEITH.

Foudroyant, Bay of Aboukir, September 10.

SIR,

You will be pleased to acquaint their Lordships, that the Captain Pacha and I have agreed on the enclosed distribution of the vessels of war found in the enemy's possession in Alexandria, of which I trust their Lordships will approve.

I have, &c.

KEITH.

Captain Pacha—Cause, 64; Justice, 46; No. 1, Venetian, 26.

Lord Keith—L'Egyptienne, 50; Régénére, 32; No. 2, Venetian, 26.

The Turkish corvettes to be given to the Captain Pacha; but to be previously valued.

CHAP. IV.

King's speech on meeting of parliament—Treaties of peace with Russia—Definition of articles contraband of war unsatisfactory —Of blockaded ports—Of stopping neutrals—Of the right of search admitted; but still abounding with difficulties—Heavy responsibility of the captors—Ship of war with convoy not to resist by force the right of search, or detention of their convoy—National flag proved by the captain and one-half the crew, and papers—Indemnification for illegal detention—Treaty with France—All foreign settlements to be restored by us, except Trinidad and Ceylon—Cape to be a free port —Malta to be evacuated by British troops, and restored to the Knights of Jerusalem—French to evacuate Naples and Roman territory—Republic of Seven Islands acknowledged—Private claims—Fisheries—Fortifications—Debates on the above in parliament—Remarks of Lord Grenville, Duke of Clarence, Lord Pelham, Earl of Moira, Lord Nelson—House of Commons—Lord Hawkesbury—Treaties between France, Austria, Naples, Spain, Portugal, Algiers, and the Porte—Foreboding calm—St. Domingo—Prussians in Hanover —Turkish empire—Paswan Oglou—Seven Islands—East Indies—State of Europe, as described by Thebadeau—Remarks on the peace—Lord Grenville's speech on treaty with Russia and neutral trade—Observations—Dissolution of armed neutrality—Remarks on privateers.

THE parliament, which had been prorogued on the 2d of July by commission, met again on the 29th of October, when the King opened the session in person, and was graciously pleased to communicate to his people, that his endeavours to bring about a peace had been successful; that the differences with the northern powers had been adjusted by a convention with the emperor of Russia, to which the kings of Denmark and Swe-

den had expressed their readiness to accede; and that the essential rights, for which we had contended, having been thereby secured, provision was made, that the exercise of them should be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contracting parties; that preliminaries of peace had also been concluded between his Majesty, and the French republic; and his Majesty trusted, that while the important arrangement manifested the justice and moderation of his views, it would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of the country, and honourable to the British character.

Convention with the Court of London, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 5th (17th) June, 1801.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

ART. I. There shall be hereafter, between his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic Majesty, their subjects, the states and countries under their domination, good and unalterable friendship and understanding; and all the political, commercial, and other relations of common utility between their respective subjects, shall subsist as formerly, without their being disturbed or troubled in any manner whatever.

II. His Majesty the Emperor and his Britannic Majesty, declare, that they will take the most especial care of the execution of the prohibitions against the trade of contraband of their subjects, with the enemies of each of the high contracting parties.

III. His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic Majesty, having resolved to place under a sufficient safeguard the freedom of commerce and navigation of their subjects, in case one of them shall be at war, whilst the other shall be neuter, have agreed:

1. That the ships of the neutral power shall navigate freely to the ports, and upon the coasts, of the nations at war.

2. That the effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war, and of enemy's property; and it is agreed, not to comprise in the number of the latter, the merchandise of the produce, growth, or manufacture, of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and should be transported for their account; which merchandise cannot be excepted in any case from the freedom granted to the flag of the said power.

3. That, in order to avoid all equivocation and misunderstanding of what ought to be qualified as contraband of war, his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic Majesty declare, conformably to the 11th Article of the treaty of commerce, concluded between the two crowns, on the 10th (21st) February, 1797, that they acknowledge as such, only the following objects, viz. cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, firelocks, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, swords, sword-belts, pouches, saddles, and bridles; excepting, however, the quantity of the said articles, which may be necessary for the defence of the ship, and of those who compose the crew; and all other articles whatever, not enumerated here, shall not be reputed warlike and naval ammunition, nor be subject to confiscation, and of course shall pass freely, without being subject to the smallest difficulty, unless they be considered as enemy's property in the above settled sense. It is also agreed, that that which is stipulated in the present article, shall not be to the prejudice of the particular stipulations, of one or the other powers, by which objects of similar kinds should be reserved, prohibited, or permitted.

4. That, in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that denomination is given only to that where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it, with ships stationary or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.

5. That the ships of the neutral power shall not be stopped, but upon just causes and evident facts: that they be tried without delay, and that the proceeding be always uniform, prompt, and legal. In order the better to ensure the respect due to

these stipulations, dictated by the sincere desire of conciliating all interests, and to give a new proof of their loyalty and love of justice, the high contracting parties enter here into the most formal engagement, to renew the severest prohibitions to their captains, whether of ships of war or merchantmen, to take, keep, or conceal, on board their ships, any of the objects which, in terms of the present convention, may be reputed contraband, and respectively to take care of the execution of the orders which they shall have published in their admiralties, and wherever it shall be necessary.

IV. The two high contracting parties, wishing to prevent all subject of dissension in future, by limiting the right of search of merchant-ships going under convoy, to the sole causes in which the belligerent power may experience a real prejudice, by the abuse of the neutral flag, have agreed,—

1. That the right of searching merchant-ships, belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting powers, and navigating under convoy of a ship of war of the same power, shall only be exercised by ships of war of the belligerent party, and shall never extend to the fitters-out of privateers, or other vessels, which do not belong to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties, but which their subjects shall have fitted out for war.

2. That the proprietors of all merchant-ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting sovereigns, which shall be destined to sail under convoy of a ship of war, shall be required, before they receive their sailing orders, to produce to the commander of the convoy their passports and certificates, or sea-letters, in the form annexed to the present treaty.

3. That when such ship of war, and every merchant-ship under convoy, shall be met with by a ship or ships of war, of the other contracting party, who shall then be in a state of war, in order to avoid all disorder, they shall keep out of cannon-shot, unless the situation of the sea, or the place of meeting, renders a nearer approach necessary; and the commander of the ship of the belligerent power shall send a sloop on board the convoy, where they shall proceed reciprocally to the verification of the papers and certificates that are to prove, on one part, that the ship of war is authorized to take under its escort such or such merchant-ships of its nation, laden with such a cargo, and for such a port: on the other part, that the ship of war of the belligerent party belongs to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties.

4. This verification made, there shall be no pretence for any search, if the papers are found in due form, and if there exists no good motive for suspicion. In the contrary case, the captain of the neutral ship of war (being duly required thereto by the captain of the ship of war, or ships of war, of the belligerent power) is to bring to and detain his convoy during the time necessary for the search of the ships which compose it, and he shall have the faculty of naming and delegating one or more officers selected by the captain of the ship of the belligerent party. If it happen that the captain of the ship or ships of war of the power at war, having examined the papers found on board, and having interrogated the master and crew of the ship, shall see just and sufficient reason to detain the merchant-ship, in order to proceed to an ulterior search, he shall notify that intention to the captain of the convoy, who shall have the power to order an officer to remain on board the ship thus detained, and to assist at the examination of the cause of her detention. The merchant-ship shall be carried immediately to the nearest and most convenient port belonging to the belligerent power, and the ulterior search shall be carried on with all possible diligence.

V. It is also agreed, that if any merchant-ship thus convoyed should be detained without just and sufficient cause, the commander of the ship or ships of war of the belligerent power, shall not only be bound to make to the owners of the ship and of the cargo a full and perfect compensation for all the losses, expenses, damages, and costs, occasioned by such a detention, but shall farther be liable to an ulterior punishment for every act of violence or other fault which he may have committed, according as the nature of the case may require. On the other hand, no ship of war with a convoy shall be permitted, under any pretext whatsoever, to resist by force the detention of a merchant-ship or ships, by the ship or ships of war of the belligerent power; an obligation which the commander of a ship of war with convoy is not bound to observe towards privateers and their fitters-out.

VI. The high contracting powers shall give precise and efficacious orders, that the sentences upon prizes made at sea shall be conformable with the rules of the most-exact justice and equity; that they shall be given by judges above suspicion, and who shall not be interested in the matter. The government of the respective states shall take care that the said sen-

tences shall be promptly and duly executed, according to the forms prescribed. In case of the unfounded detention, or other contravention of the regulations stipulated by the present treaty, the owners of such a ship and cargo shall be allowed damages proportioned to the loss occasioned by such detention. The rules to observe for these damages, and for the case of unfounded detention, as also the principles to follow for the purpose of accelerating the process, shall be the matter of additional articles, which shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted in the present act. For this effect, their Imperial and Britannic Majesties mutually engage to put their hand to the salutary work, which may serve for the completion of these stipulations, and to communicate to each other without delay, the views which may be suggested to them by their equal solicitude to prevent the least grounds for dispute in future.

VII. To obviate all the inconveniences which may arise from the bad faith of those who avail themselves of the flag of a nation without belonging to it, it is agreed to establish for an inviolable rule, that any vessel whatever, to be considered as the property of the country, the flag of which it carries, must have on board the captain of the ship, and one-half of the crew of the people of that country, and the papers and passports in due and perfect form; but every vessel which shall not observe this rule, and which shall infringe the ordinances published on that head, shall lose all right to the protection of the contracting powers.

VIII. The principles and measure adopted by the present act, shall be alike applicable to all the maritime wars in which one of the two powers may be engaged whilst the other remains neutral. These stipulations shall in consequence be regarded as permanent, and shall serve for a constant rule to the contracting powers in matters of commerce and navigation.

IX. His Majesty the King of Denmark, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, shall be immediately invited by his Imperial Majesty, in the name of the two contracting parties, to accede to the present convention, and at the same time to renew and confirm their respective treaties of commerce with his Britannic Majesty; and his said Majesty engages, by acts which shall have established that agreement, to render and restore to each of these powers, all the prizes that have been taken from them, as well as the territories and countries under their domination, which have been conquered by the arms of his Britannic Majesty since

the rupture, in the state in which those possessions were found, at the period at which the troops of his Britannic Majesty entered them. The orders of his said Majesty for the restitution of those prizes and conquests shall be immediately expedited, after the exchange of the ratification of the acts by which Sweden and Denmark shall accede to the present treaty.

X. The present convention shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburgh in the space of two months at farthest, from the day of the signature. In faith of which, the respective plenipotentiaries have caused to be made two copies perfectly similar, signed with their hands, and have sealed with their arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 5th (17th) June, 1801.

(L. S.) N. COUNT DE PANIN.
(L. S.) ST. HELENS.

First separate Article of the Convention with the Court of London, signed the 5th (17th) June, 1801.

The pure and magnanimous intentions of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, having already induced him to restore the vessels and goods of British subjects, which had been sequestered in Russia, his said Majesty confirms that disposition in its whole extent; and his Britannic Majesty engages also, to give immediate orders for taking off all sequestration laid upon the Russian, Danish, and Swedish properties, detained in English ports: and to prove still more his sincere desire to terminate amicably the differences which have arisen between Great Britain and the northern courts; and in order that no new incident may throw obstacles in the way of this salutary work, his Britannic Majesty binds himself to give orders to the commanders of his forces by land and sea, that the armistice now subsisting with the courts of Denmark and Sweden, shall be prolonged for a term of three months from the date of this day; and his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, guided by the same motives, undertakes, in the name of his allies, to have this armistice maintained during the said term.

Second separate Article of the Convention with

the Court of London, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 5th (17th) of June, 1801.

The differences and misunderstandings, which subsisted between his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being thus terminated, and the precautions taken by the present convention, not giving farther room to fear that they may be able to disturb, in future, harmony and good understanding which the two high contracting parties have at heart to consolidate, their said Majesties confirm anew, by the present convention, the treaty of commerce, of the 10th (February 21, 1797), of which all the stipulations are here repeated, to be maintained in the whole extent.

Additional Articles to the Convention between England and Russia, of the 17th of June, 1801.

It having been resolved, by the 5th article of the convention, concluded on the 17th June, 1801, between his Imperial Majesty of Russia and his British Majesty, that both the high and contracting powers, should mutually agree upon certain separate articles, for the establishing of those rules and principles, which are to be followed with a view to promote a speedy decision in respect to prizes made in the open sea, as well as with respect to the indemnification which is due to the proprietors of neutral ships and cargoes, in case of a groundless detention: their Majesties have, for that purpose, named and vested with full power, his Imperial Majesty of Russia, Alexander Prince Kurakin, his vice-chancellor, &c. and Victor Count Kotschoubey, his actual privy-counsellor, &c.; and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, Lord Baron St. Helens, peer of the said United Kingdom, &c.; who, by virtue of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. 1. In case of a groundless detention, or other transgression of rules mutually established, there shall be paid to the owners of the ships so detained, and of their cargo, for each day's delay, a recompense in proportion to the loss sustained, reckoning according to the freight of the ship, and the quality of the cargo.

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2. In case the ministers of the contracting parties, or other persons accredited by them, with the belligerent powers, shall happen to complain of the sentence given on such prizes, by the respective courts of admiralty, the business shall be immediately referred by appeal, in Russia, to the directing senate, and in Great Britain to the king in council.

3. Both sides shall carefully examine, whether the regulations and provisions in the present convention have been observed, which must be done in the speediest manner. Both contracting parties engage farther to adopt the most effectual means, to prevent every unnecessary delay in respect to the sentences, to be pronounced in the respective tribunals, on prizes made in the open sea.

4. The effects detained shall neither be sold, nor unloaded before a final sentence, unless in the case of a really pressing necessity, shewn to the court of admiralty by a commission appointed for that purpose; and it shall by no means be permitted to the captors to unload of their own authority, or to carry away any thing from the ships so detained.

These separate articles, which form a part of the convention, signed on the 17th of June, in the names of their imperial Russian and Britannic Majesties, shall have the same force and effect, as if they were word for word inserted in the said convention.

Signed at Moscow, Oct. 20, 1801.

PRINCE KURAKIN.
COUNT KOTSCHOUBEY.
ST. HELENS.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the French Republic, signed at London (in English and French), the 1st of October, 1801 (9th Vendemaire, year ten of the French Republic).

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between

the two countries, have named for this purpose; namely, his Britannic Majesty, the right honourable Robert Banks Jenkinson, commonly called Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Britannic Majesty's most honourable privy-council, and his principal secretary of state for foreign affairs; and the First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, citizen Lewis William Otto, commissary for the exchange of French prisoners in England; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, have agreed on the following preliminary articles:—

ART. 1. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic Majesty and the French republic, by sea and by land, in all parts of the world; and, in order that all hostilities may cease immediately between the two powers, and between them and their allies respectively, the necessary instruction shall be sent with the utmost despatch, to the commanders of the sea and land forces of the respective states, and each of the contracting parties from the other, or from their respective allies, subsequently to the ratification of the present preliminary, shall be considered as of no effect, and shall be faithfully comprehended in the restitutions, to be made after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

2. His Britannic Majesty shall restore to the French republic and her allies; namely, to his Catholic Majesty, and to the Batavian republic, all the possessions and colonies occupied or conquered by the English forces, in the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon, of which island and possessions his Britannic Majesty reserves to himself the full and entire sovereignty.

3. The port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages.

4. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. For the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty.

5. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose terri-

tories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war.

6. The territories and possessions of his Most Faithful Majesty shall likewise be preserved entire.

7. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic.

8. The republic of the Seven Islands, shall be acknowledged by the French republic.

9. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present preliminary articles, shall take place in Europe, within one month; in the continent and seas of America and of Africa, within three months; and in the continent and seas of Asia, within six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

10. The prisoners made respectively, shall, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the definitive treaty, all be restored, and without ransom, on paying reciprocally the debts which they may have individually contracted. Discussions having arisen, respecting the payment for the maintenance of the prisoners of war, the contracting powers reserve this question to be settled by the definitive treaty, according to the law of nations, and in conformity to established usage.

11. In order to prevent all the causes of complaint and dispute, which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea, after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects, which may be taken in the British Channel and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the present preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the ocean, or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary islands as far as the equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

12. All sequestrations imposed by either of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of any description, belonging to either of the contracting powers, or to their subjects

or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of the definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals of the one country, against individuals of the other, for private rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before competent tribunals; and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries, where the claims are made. It is agreed, moreover, that this article, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall apply to the allies of the contracting parties, and to the individuals of the respective nations, upon the condition of a just reciprocity.

13. With respect to the fisheries on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, and of the islands adjacent, and in the gulf of St. Lawrence, the two parties have agreed to restore them to the same footing, on which they were before the present war, reserving to themselves the power of making, in the definitive treaty, such arrangements as shall appear just and reciprocally useful, in order to place the fishing of the two nations on the most proper footing for the maintenance of peace.

14. In all cases of restitution, agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may be at the time of the signature of the present treaty, and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation shall remain untouched.

It is farther agreed, that in all the cases of cession stipulated in the present treaty, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of the definitive treaty of peace, for the purpose of disposing of their properties, acquired and possessed either before or during the present war; during which term of three years, they may have the free exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege shall be granted in the countries restored, of all those who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever, during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the other inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed, that none of them shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested in their persons or properties under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of

their attachment to either of the two powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the definitive treaty.

15. The present preliminary articles shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in London, in the space of fifteen days for all delay; and immediately after their ratification, plenipotentiaries shall be named, on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, and of the First Consul of the French republic, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have caused our seals to be put thereto.

Done at London, the 1st day of October, 1801, the 9th Vendemaire, year ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) HAWKESBURY.
(L. S.) OTTO.

On the 30th of October, copies of the convention with the Emperor of Russia, and of the preliminary articles of the treaty with France, were presented to the house of lords by Lord Pelham, and to the commons by Lord Hawkesbury.

In the house of peers, Lord Grenville required an explanation of that article in the preliminary treaty with France, which related to the integrity of Portugal, which, it appeared, had ceded one of her provinces to Spain, and a large portion of her South American territory to France.—What then had become of her integrity, of which we were the guarantees? For his part, he was of opinion that there never was a transaction of any kind in the history of our country, in which so much had been given up without any equivalent,

such unlimited concessions made, so much disgrace incurred, and the nation placed in such awful circumstances of peril.

Lord Pelham having objected to the production of the papers required, Lord Grenville observed, that he did not mean to embarrass his Majesty's ministers, nor oppose their measures, unless in such matters as left him no option; on the contrary, he was ready to give them all the support he could, provided they would act with more firmness and vigour, in maintaining the peace, than they had shewn in the negotiation. After again adverting to the cession by the Portuguese of Guayana to France, he concluded by waving his intended motion for that time.

The Duke of Clarence supported the peace; and considered that we had obtained as much security as could be expected in these revolutionary times, from a government like that of the French republic. His Royal Highness took a clear, able, and luminous view of the principal events of the war, and concluded, by giving his hearty assent to the motion.

Lord Pelham justified the treaty, by comparing it with the *projet* which the former ministers had given in 1797; the only difference his Lordship observed was, that the Cape of Good Hope, which by that project was to have been retained, was by the present treaty made a free port.

Lord Grenville condemned the peace; convinced that of all for which we had so long contended,

nothing had been obtained. If security was the object of the war, we now remain, said his Lordship, in a greater state of insecurity than ever; but the question was not whether the peace should or should not be agreed to, for the honour of the nation was now pledged to the observance of its conditions; and, as so many sacrifices had been made, he should be the last man to propose the sacrifice of national honour. France, his Lordship said, by taking the Rhine for her boundary, and annexing Savoy, had extended her empire beyond what the most ambitious of her monarchs had ever conceived. On our side our successes were no less important—we had rescued Egypt, taken Malta and Minorca—shut up the Mediterranean against the ships of France and Spain; we had the Cape of Good Hope—the key to the East Indies; we had Trinidad and Martinique; and on the continent of South America, Demerara and Surinam,—an empire almost equal in extent and importance to the power, to whom we restored it. Although the war had not been undertaken for colonial acquisition, yet it was wisely directed to that object, as being the best means of crippling the marine of France, by contracting her commerce. If the present treaty were compared to the *projet* of 1797 (at Lisle), it should be remembered, that the present treaty gave up Surinam, Minorca, and Malta, after four years' additional war and expense. We had given more to receive less; besides, we should have remembered, in what a

period of despondency those negotiations began; during the stoppage of the bank, the defection of our allies, and the mutiny of our fleets. His Lordship condemned the conduct of ministers in sacrificing the Prince of Orange, and the integrity of Portugal. In the East Indies we had suffered much; for when the enemy should have the power of excluding us from touching at Brazil or the Cape of Good Hope, and should place strong garrisons in Pondicherry and Cochin, they would have great advantages in an Indian war, by sending out armaments, which for want of an intermediate port to touch at we could not. In the West Indies we had given up Martinique, which was certainly of greater value than Trinidad (in this we entirely differ with his Lordship); in the Mediterranean we had given up every thing, Minorca, Malta, Egypt, and Elba; and by a treaty with the Porte, France was to be as much favoured as ourselves. With respect to Naples we had gained nothing. The situation of France did not entitle her to make such exorbitant demands; there was no reciprocity in the treaty, all the sacrifices were on our part, and none on theirs. His Lordship concluded by saying, that we had given every security on our part, and had none to depend on but the word of France; and whatever delusive confidence the country might entertain of the continuance of such a peace, yet that a stand must be made sooner or later; having incautiously surrendered the out-

works, we had retained the citadel, and must bury ourselves in the ruins before we surrendered.

The Earl of Moira said, that the security of England rested with her navy, but however glorious and brilliant her victories both by land and sea, a peace was absolutely necessary to her existence. His Lordship asserted, that all our acquisitions in the West Indies, *were not equal to Savoy*, which was but a small portion of the acquisitions of France; he, however, considered the peace the best that could have been made, under all the circumstances.

Lord Mulgrave defended the peace in a very eloquent and animated speech, in which his Lordship highly eulogised the valour of our soldiers and sailors.

The Earl of St. Vincent considered Ceylon and Trinidad, both in a political and commercial point of view, as two of the most valuable islands in the whole habitable globe.

Lord Nelson thought Minorca of little value to us, being too far distant from Toulon to be a naval station. Malta he did not consider likely to be of any importance to the country: it was taken to rescue it from the French, and provided they were kept out, it was of little importance in whose hands it remained; it would require a garrison of seven thousand men to defend the works. His Lordship did not consider the Cape of Good Hope as a settlement of very great value, since

the improvement of our East India shipping enabled us to run the whole voyage without touching at that port. Differing with that celebrated officer, as to the value of the places which he enumerated, we leave the discussion without farther comment. Ministers, we are quite sure, made the peace, more as an experiment, than from any conviction of its advantages or hope of its continuation; and it was clear, that the Chief Consul never intended it should last beyond the period suitable to his views and insatiable ambition.

When Lord Romney moved the address in the house of peers, his Lordship observed, that as the war was necessary on our side, so far as we were concerned, it was attended with the most brilliant success. Glorious as that war was, in which the immortal Chatham presided at the helm of affairs, this was no less splendid. Our fleets had been victorious to a still higher degree, they had crushed the navy, and annihilated the commerce, of the enemy: the whole of maritime Europe, jealous of our naval power, had conspired its ruin, and found their vain endeavours recoil upon themselves.

Earl Spencer said, he disapproved of the peace, and had he not felt himself called upon, from a sense of duty, to deliver an opinion opposite to that of other noble lords, he should much rather have deplored in silence the calamity of the present peace, and the enthusiastic joy with which the people had received it. He should rather have

suppressed the mortification he felt at the degradation of his country. His Lordship thought, that no single object of the war had been gained, and that we had sacrificed every means of protection. We had in every part of the world made cession of countries, which the valour of our forces had conquered, and which would have secured us from the effects of the aggrandizement of France on the continent. It had been said, that we had protected our allies. What was the fact? How had we protected Portugal? It appeared that it was only a portion of her territory, whose integrity was to be preserved. A part of the important province of Olivenza was to be ceded. Our ally, the Prince of Orange, was not even named in the preliminaries, although from his faithful attachment to us he had lost both his territories and his station. Could it be said that Ceylon and Trinidad gave either sufficient indemnity for the past, or security for the future? In India, the bravery of our army had subdued Tippoo Saib, and placed that country out of danger; but by this peace, which surrenders to the enemy the Cape of Good Hope and Cochin, we afford them an entrance into Malabar; while in South America we have permitted Portugal to cede to France a strong military position at the mouth of the river Amazon. In the West Indies we had surrendered Martinique, and left the French in the possession of St. Domingo. In the Mediterranean we had surrendered every thing, to our own exclusion;

and in Malta the French were to have equal footing with the English; in short, he saw nothing but a precarious peace. It was said, it was the interest of France to maintain this peace; but who had learned to calculate the interest of an usurper? If ever peace was precarious, this was that peace. If ever precarious peace was dangerous, this was that peace. The French principles were triumphant, and adorned with all the attraction and dignity of success. He felt sorry to differ from ministers, and considered it now most peculiarly his duty to support such measures of vigour, as might give the country a chance of safety.

France, nearly at the same time, made peace with Austria and Naples, Spain and Portugal, and concluded a treaty with the Dey of Algiers. On the arrival of the ratified preliminaries with England, Bonaparte immediately signed a treaty with the Ottoman Porte; and England having in the summer settled all her differences with the northern powers, a dark but foreboding calm, like that which intervenes between a gale and a hurricane, prevailed in Europe. In St. Domingo the flame of discord was still unextinguished, and short was the interval of repose allowed to suffering humanity; but that interval Great Britain employed in healing the wounds inflicted by the contest, while France prepared to send forth fresh armies and fleets, and renewed her threats of invasion, as soon as the ratifications were exchanged.

The King of Prussia, who had entered Hanover, as guardian of the neutrality of the north of Germany, was so much flattered with the temporary enjoyment of his power, that it was with some difficulty, and probably under feelings of disappointment, that he was compelled to relinquish the possession.

The Turkish empire, corrupt, feeble, and tyrannical, seemed tottering towards dissolution. Paswan Oglou was still in rebellion, and gained advantages. The Janizaries of Belgrade, now become the terror of their own masters, revolted, murdered the bashaw, and governed the city with arbitrary power; setting a fatal example of successful revolt to the surrounding districts.

The republic of the Seven Islands, newly formed under the guarantee of the great powers, was shaken by internal discord, the natural and invariable consequence of sudden political change: but the interference of Britain, Russia, and Turkey, soon silenced any open expression of discontent.

In the East Indies our empire, by singular good fortune, aided by political sagacity, and military energy, was at once extended and consolidated. The sword, it is true, had been used, but with moderation, and the natives gladly submitted to the mild and equitable laws of England, in preference to the despotism of their own princes.

The counsellor of state, Thebadeau, on the 23d of November, 1801, presented a very singular address to the legislative body, in which he gave

an extravagant and distorted picture of the events and effects of the war then concluded.

He observes that the navy of France had shewn itself with courage in the Mediterranean, when that sea was covered with the fleets of Britain;—on the ocean it had *astonished* England by the glorious resistance of the flotilla at Boulogne. In Egypt the soldiers of the army of the East had yielded rather *to circumstances*, than the force of Turkey and England united. During nine years of war, the communication between France and her colonies was nearly cut off, Guadaloupe was given up to a faction, and in St. Domingo some *irregular acts* had *given alarm* for its allegiance, but a fleet and army then preparing, would soon restore it to the laws of the Republic. In St. Domingo and Guadaloupe there were no longer any slaves, *all were free*, and all should remain so; in Martinique, slavery still continued and would continue. Guayana prospered; the isles of France and Réunion remained faithful to the mother country. The Batavian people having adopted a new constitution, France had acknowledged it because it was the *will* of a *free people*.

Helvetia torn by parties had *invoked* the power and the arms of France, *the chief consul had recalled her to a sense of her independence, and desired her to preserve liberty and equality;* but she was still without a pilot in the midst of storms.

The Cisalpine and Liguria had decreed their organization, and *appeared* to desire that the first

consul should take upon himself the appointment of their ministers. Lucca had expiated in agonies the errors which deserved the indignation of the French people.

The king of Tuscany, tranquil on his throne, had been acknowledged by the great powers—four thousand French troops were *guarding* Leghorn *for him.* Piedmont formed the twenty-seventh military division.

The Pope possessed his estates in their integrity; Pesaro, Fano, and Castel San Leone, had been restored to him. Fifteen hundred French troops held possession of Ancona, in order to ensure a communication with the armies of the South.

Paul the First loved France, and wished for the freedom of the seas. Eight thousand Russian troops had been made prisoners in fighting the battles of their allies; the English government had refused to exchange them for French prisoners: France was indignant at this, and resolved to restore those brave warriors to their country; hence closer ties, and more *intimate approximation.* On a sudden Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia united; a coalition was formed to guarantee the freedom of the seas. Hanover was occupied by Prussia, and vast operations *were preparing* when *suddenly Paul died.*

Peace had been signed with Russia, and nothing would in future disturb the relation between those great people (France and Russia), who with so many reasons for loving have none for *fearing* each

other. With the United States of America all differences had been removed.

The Porte, restored to her real interests, and her inclination for France, has again found her *most faithful* and ancient ally.

Finally, the preliminaries of peace with England had been signed, the greater part of her allies having abandoned her; Hanover, the sole possession of her sovereigns on the continent, remained in the power of Prussia. Portugal, so long under the exclusive commercial influence of England, became no more than a province of Great Britain; it was *there* that Spain was to have found a compensation for Trinidad; but the Spanish ministers having ratified the treaty of Badajos, lost *Trinidad for ever.*

England, with the same inflexibility, resisted the restoration of Ceylon, but the Batavian republic will find in the *numerous* possessions that are restored to her, the re-establishment of *her commerce and her power.* France has supported the interests of her allies with as much strength as her own; but she was forced to stop at the point where all negotiations become impossible—her exhausted allies afforded no more resources for the continuance of the war; the prolongation of which would not have been repaid by the attainment of the objects refused by England. In the whole course of the negotiation, the administration of England, said the orator, " has shewn a frank desire to put an end to the miseries of war, and

the French government will make it their glory to perpetuate a peace, which shall constitute the happiness of mankind."

On the 13th of November, 1802, when the Earl of Darnley moved an address to his Majesty, approving of the conduct of ministers in the late negotiation with Russia, Lord Grenville made some observations, which we conceive so completely applicable to Naval History, and our rights as a maritime power, that we give his Lordship's own words:—

"It was impossible," he said, "for him to agree in that unanimous approbation recommended by the noble lord who had just spoken. In the first place, he conceived it highly premature to give their assent to a treaty which must still be a subject of discussion, between this country and the northern powers (the ratification of all those powers not being certain): but he had another and much more forcible objection; it did not secure for this country the objects for which the war was commenced, and which the treaty professed to have obtained. The consideration of this treaty was widely different from that of the treaty lately concluded with France. The latter, being a treaty of peace made with an enemy, was absolutely binding on the national faith, and parliament had little more to consider than the conduct of ministers in making it.—This, however, being a convention with a state in amity, if there were any thing defective in the treaty, it might be a subject of farther

explanation and amicable arrangement; he therefore felt particularly desirous of pointing out the consequences which would result from the treaty in its present shape, and anxious that his Majesty's ministers should settle, by future arrangement, what was defective in the present.—As the question of neutral rights had been agitated, he wished it might be for ever put to rest, and that the treaty should constitute a code of laws, which might be appealed to on any future occasion. In order to judge whether, in the present treaty, we had succeeded in obtaining the objects of the contest with the northern powers, he should state what those objects were, which he thought might be reduced to five distinct points.

"The first asserted on the part of this country, was, that neutral nations should not be permitted in war-time, either to carry coastways, from one port of an enemy's country to another, the commodities of that country, nor convey home to an enemy's country the produce of its colonies; and that such property, although in a neutral bottom, was seizable under the maritime law of nations. Were neutrals allowed to exercise such privileges with respect to belligerent powers, the enemy could carry on every species of commerce, without the least interruption or annoyance from this country in war-time.

"The second point was, that free ships did not make free goods; if the contrary principle, which the northern powers contended for, was once admitted, France could in war-time derive supplies

of every thing necessary for her support, in defiance of all our efforts to prevent them.

"The third principle related to the contraband of war, by which neutral nations were not to be allowed to supply an enemy with those necessaries of war, which it might be in want of either for offence or defence, and among these articles *naval stores* are the most important.

"The fourth point related to convoy, and under this it was asserted that neutral vessels, even sailing under convoy, should not be exempted from the liability of search.

"The fifth point related to blockaded ports. The principle which we contended for under this point was that no vessel should be suffered to enter a port blockaded by a cruising squadron, inasmuch as by throwing in supplies they might enable the port to hold out longer against us, and that any vessel attempting to enter, and bound to such blockaded port, was liable to seizure. The neutral powers, on the other hand, wished to restrict the signification of a blockaded port, to that before which a blockading squadron was so placed, as to render it apparently unsafe for a vessel to enter."

Having recapitulated these, as the grounds of the original contest between Great Britain and the northern powers, his Lordship proceeded to consider how far the terms in the present treaty went towards obtaining them. In the first place, he observed, that the expressions used in this treaty were ambiguous and drawn from a document most

hostile to us, namely, the convention of the armed neutrality. One of the articles would, from its wording, secure the free conveyance of the colonial produce of the enemy, on the ground of its being the acquired property of neutrals. Although this appeared to be only conceded to Russia, yet Sweden and Denmark would derive the same power, if that was made the basis of a general treaty, and in their hands this privilege would be essentially injurious to the country. Another advantage which this clause gave to neutrals was, that by it they acquired privileges in war, which they had not in peace, namely, that of transporting the produce of the colonies to the mother country: a privilege which the navigation laws of every state possessing colonies reserved to the mother country. As to the second point, the renunciation of the claim that "free bottoms make free goods," this certainly had been obtained, which was only a confirmation of the existing law of nations. As to the third point, that of contraband of war—he was sorry to see, that this part of the treaty went on the ground of the treaty with Russia in 1797. With Russia, a power that had no mercantile navigation, it was an object of no moment; but to grant the same indulgence to other powers, would be most dangerous. It was also most strange, in the enumeration of warlike stores, to leave out those articles which Russia might be expected to supply, namely, pitch, tar, hemp, cordage, canvas, ship-timber, and even ships themselves. The fourth

point, respecting blockaded ports, had been in a great measure, abandoned by this treaty. Formerly a port was considered to be blockaded, when it was declared to be so, in consequence of a squadron cruising before it for that purpose, even although that squadron should be driven off for a while by a gale of wind, or any other cause. By the present treaty a port is not considered blockaded, unless there is a stationary force before it. The next article, as to the right of search, he considered equally injurious to us. By this article, ships were not to be stopped but upon just causes and evident facts. We had always before exercised the right of search upon good cause of suspicion, and not upon the evidence of facts. It is often impossible to get at facts in the first instance; they usually come out in the search. Notwithstanding the many complaints which had been made against this right of search, it usually proved, when those complaints came to be examined, that they were ill founded. He had no objection, however, to depriving privateers of this right; but with ships of war, it ought to be maintained in its full extent. The causes for detention and seizure seldom appeared till the search was made; they were not to be perceived at a distance by a telescope. He would suppose, in war-time, a Danish frigate was going with a convoy into the port of Brest: the papers on board the frigate convoying them might be perfectly regular, and yet the ships full of naval stores. His Lordship concluded by saying, that

he found, in every part of the treaty, so much ambiguity and concession, so much variance from the established practice, that he felt himself obliged to deliver his opinion, in hopes, even yet, before it came to be the definitive law for the government of our navigation and marine, that it might be modified and rendered more consonant with our ancient claims, our invariable practice, our national dignity, and our maritime power.

The treaty was defended by the Lord Chancellor; who said, that he had himself been a party consenting to its adoption. The settlement, his Lordship said, had been obtained on a great and liberal basis, which shewed to the world that Great Britain was not intolerant in her power. The points we had gained were that free bottoms did *not* make free goods; that ships of war had the right of search; that the blockade of ports should be recognized as legitimate; that the exercise of those rights should be regulated by clear, intelligible, and liberal rules; and what was of more consequence than all, that any casual violation of these rules should not be a ground of quarrel, but should be determined by the tribunals of the country. He considered that the wording of the treaty was sufficiently explicit to prevent the neutrals from carrying on either the coasting, or colonial trade of the enemy. France had at one time during the war, broached the monstrous doctrine, that they had a right to seize and confiscate the property of neutrals, if of British produce. This treaty went

on a different principle, and declared, that Great Britain would not consider as enemy's property, such goods, as having formerly belonged to the enemy, had since become the property of neutrals.

Although we, therefore, permitted the neutrals to acquire the colonial productions of an enemy, *we did not permit them to carry on the colonial trade.* This was a treaty, his Lordship said, concluded with Russia separately, and it was not to be supposed, that all the other neutral nations were to come under this arrangement. *Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and America, were no parties to it.*

Lord Grenville explained; he did not mean that the article with respect to "contraband of war," which was introduced into this treaty with Russia, would be extended to Sweden and Denmark, but he meant that in this treaty it should be put out of all doubt, *that England generally considers naval stores as contraband of war.* Holland and America might again suppose from the wording of this treaty, that by the law of nations on which they stood, naval stores were not contraband of war.

Lord Mulgrave supported the address, but differed from most of the noble lords who had spoken, in several points: he differed from the Lord Chancellor, who called it one of the most advantageous treaties this country had ever made; nor could he agree with Lord Holland, who had treated lightly the five different heads enumerated by Lord Grenville, as the principles which caused the contest with the northern powers; he thought those prin-

ciples were rights of the utmost importance to this country, as a maritime nation. He considered that these rights were not secured to this country, as fully as might have been wished, but yet that a great deal had been obtained, and a great many claims, hostile to this country, had been abandoned by the northern powers: under this impression he voted for the address.

Lord Nelson, the hero of the Nile and Copenhagen, approved of the treaty, because it put an end to that principle, that free bottoms made free goods, a proposition so injurious to the maritime rights of this country, that sooner than concede it, we should wage war to the last drop of British blood.

There is one part of his Lordship's speech, which has either been improperly taken down by the reporters, or we confess we do not understand it: his Lordship is made to say, "As to our not classing naval-stores as contraband of war in our separate treaty with Russia, he saw no danger in the omission; *Russia neither supplied those naval stores, nor had she ships to convey them.*" To this we reply, that Memel and Riga have for many years supplied us with masts, hemp, tallow, and hides; our iron, pitch, and tar, we get from Sweden; Norway supplies deals, and hand-masts, as we call them; from Dantzic we get plank, &c. We cannot, therefore, comprehend the meaning of the assertion of Nelson, who during an eventful period had held the command of the Baltic fleet.

The neutral merchant, previously to placing his vessel under convoy, was expected to produce the most accurate proofs of the nature of his cargo, and the purpose of his voyage; and should it so happen that "a ship of war having a merchant-ship, or ships, under convoy, shall meet with a ship of war, of either contracting party who shall then be in a state of war, in order to avoid all disorder, they shall *keep out of cannot-shot.*" The whole of this third article seems to be so complex and contradictory, that the duty of the captain becomes more arduous and difficult, and an appeal to the cannon more probable than before, inasmuch as two officers, "jealous of honour," are set to decipher papers written in a language which it is most probable, one or the other could not understand; and which, with a carelessness or design, not unusual in legal and diplomatic forms, are left to bear such construction as may best suit the views of either party.

The fifth article prohibits any ship of war *resisting* by *force* the detention of one of his convoy; and lays heavy responsibility on the captain detaining without *sufficient cause.* Of this we have long been aware; and some of our naval officers know, by sad experience, that the detention of a neutral is often fatal to their fortunes. A powerful maritime nation will never concede to its enemy a supply of naval-stores; and as the articles are the staple of the north of Europe, we may expect a renewal of these disputes at no very dis-

tant period; the same causes ever producing the same effects. Under the numerous provisions of this treaty, the duties of the blockade crowd upon us with an importunity, which baffles the powers of the most efficient and active marine.

The laws of war are, after all, the law of the strongest. When Britain has no longer the power to do herself justice, she may seek it in vain, from the magnanimity of her friends, or her enemies.

It appears impossible that human wisdom should devise a code of laws, to which all the nations of Europe should submit. Interests varying with times and circumstances, and combined with arbitrary power, overthrow the wisest institutions; and the weak will look in vain for justice from the powerful. Still we see no reason to suppose, that by this treaty, the neutral is permitted to carry on the colonial trade of the enemy: our own experience in the latter part of the war, proves that no such indulgence was intended, although the proposition had its supporters both in and out of parliament. From the year 1807 to 1812, the Americans and other neutrals suffered most severely, for their adventurous speculations in this branch of commerce.

There was an important note from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkesbury, which might have gratified the pride, and quieted the fears, of the most scrupulous supporters of the honour of their country; proving the infallible efficacy of the

timely and temperate application of force, where argument has failed. It is as follows :—

Petersburgh, April 2, 1802.

I have the satisfaction of transmitting to your Lordship, the Swedish act of accession to the convention of the 17th of June, 1801, which was signed (with its duplicate) on the 30th past, by myself, and the Baron de Stedingk ; and instruments of a like tenor were at the same time interchanged between that minister and the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty. I have moreover the satisfaction of being enabled to assure your Lordship, that the Swedish ambassador has been distinctly informed by the Count de Kotschoubey, that as the motives which had occasioned the late revival of the system of the armed neutrality were now happily done away, that system is considered by this court as completely annulled and abandoned, not only as a general code of maritime law, but even in its more limited meaning of a specific engagement between the Russians and the other confederates.

One stipulation in this treaty is deserving of notice and commendation; the right of search conceded to ships of war, was denied to that disgraceful species of national force, and universal annoyance, *the privateers;* and it is sincerely to be wished, that the belligerents would, in future wars, deny to individuals those commissions by which, in the name and under the flag of their government, they commit the most barbarous spoliation and outrage on property and persons. This right of search was, however, only denied to privateers while the merchant-vessel was under the protection of a ship of war ; at all other times, the licensed pirate was at liberty to pursue his career of plunder with impunity. We have no objection to letters of marque being granted to re-

putable merchant-ships in the East and West Indies, or other traders; they have so often defended themselves with valour and prudence, that it would ill become a naval officer to deny their merit, or abate their rewards; but we cannot think that a vessel fitted out by private individuals expressly for the purpose of cruising upon the enemy, ought to be countenanced by a nation possessing at one time the astonishing number of one thousand sail of ships and vessels of war. Let it be remembered also, that those privateers deprive the navy of seamen, while they diminish the fair prospects and compensation of its services.

Our amicable intercourse with Portugal had been interrupted in 1800, by the successful policy of Bonaparte and the weakness of the court of Madrid. Portugal next to India was considered by our enemies as "the most *valuable colony* of England." The Count de Dumas, in his Précis des Evénemens Militaires, vol. 7. p. 58. says, "Notwithstanding the advantages England derived from her commerce, the flag of Portugal was as much insulted as that of any other nation." This is not correct; and many instances could be adduced in support of a contrary assertion. Charles IV. of Spain, and his wicked minister, Godoy (blasphemously named "the Prince of peace"), pursuing at that time the policy of the Philips, prepared those calamities, which soon after afflicted

the Peninsula, and the effects of which that unhappy country is now feeling.

A French army, under St. Cyr, entered Spain early in 1801, and the haughty Consul dictated his imperious commands to his two impotent vassals, who submitted to his will. The British army, which in the spring of 1800, had been embarked under the command of Sir James Pulteney, and conducted by Sir John Warren, might have been intended to land on the shores of the Tagus; and the Count de Dumas supposes that it was prevented by a disagreement between the courts of London and Lisbon. We rather suppose that the British cabinet thought the best way to defend its ally, was to threaten Spain; and therefore made the attempts on Ferrol, Vigo, and Cadiz, which have been related. These transactions, which preceded the battle of Hohenlinden, produced no effect on the councils of the Spanish King; who, in the month of February, 1801, declared war against Portugal; and Godoy entered the province of Alentejo, which he entirely overran. This induced the Prince Regent of Portugal to make peace with Spain, in the month of June following; and one of the conditions was, that British shipping and commerce should be excluded from all his ports; and the same is repeated in a treaty which soon followed between France and Portugal. It was in consequence of these treaties that the British govern-

ment seized the island of Madeira, and placed garrisons in all the colonies or factories of the Portuguese in the East Indies, except Macao. The treaty of Badajos, referred to by Thebadeau, is that which terminated hostilities between Spain and Portugal; and having been concluded by Godoy without the sanction of Bonaparte, was made the pretence, by the latter, for ceding Trinidad to Great Britain at the peace of Amiens.

CHAP. V.

Improvement of the British navy in civil and executive departments—Iron cables—Tanks—Truscott pumps—Breakwater—Dry rot, how counteracted—Instances of Queen Charlotte and Eden—Cleanliness of ships conducive to their preservation—List of ships built in foreign yards, and of foreign timber in British yards—Sir Robert Seppings's improvements in construction—Round sterns—Diagonal frames—List and dimensions of improved ships—Mr. Bill's iron mast—Sir Robert Seppings's wooden mast—Statement of merchant-shipping, and seamen—Marine society—Seamen's hospital—On the great improvement in signals—Land and sea telegraphs—Observations on the marine and commerce of Europe—Naval inquiry—Opposition to it—Its object, is carried—Members of the board—Twelve reports—Court-martial on Sir Wm. Parker—Decision on neutral claim—Difficulty of defining enemy's property—Capture of French fishing-boats—Their release.

THE improvement of the British navy in its civil and executive departments, from 1783 to 1803, has been noticed, and proved by the results of our maritime exploits. From the latter period, a new and very important era commences. The succeeding boards of admiralty, with the materials provided by Lord Spencer, have raised a superstructure, on which the fame, security, and prosperity of the British Empire may, under Providence, and a wise and upright government, bid defiance to "the world in arms."

The Earl of St. Vincent, while he reformed the abuses of the civil departments, gave his attention

to the mechanical labour of the dock-yards. The art of ship-building was zealously and successfully cherished by the first Lords Melville, Barham, Grey, the Honourable Thomas Grenville, Lord Mulgrave, the Right Honourable Charles Yorke, and the present Lord Melville; and it has now reached a degree of perfection both gratifying and astonishing to the lovers of their country. Sir Robert Seppings has given a stability and compactness to ships of war, which render them at once more invulnerable to hostile attack, and more capable of resisting the elements. The introduction of chain cables, by Captain Brown of the Royal Navy, has disarmed a lee-shore of some of its terrors: the iron tanks introduced in 1810, by increasing the quantity of fresh-water, have added to the comfort of the men, and enabled the ships to remain longer at sea: the invention of the Truscott pump, by the valuable officer whose name it bears, has done away with the laborious, and dangerous occupation of getting up, and lumbering the decks with water-casks during the night, which disturbed the repose of the people, and rendered the ship unfit for action. We are indebted to Vice-admiral Foote, for having abolished the destructive practice of sending king's stores from the dock-yards in boats of ships of war, by which lives were lost, and incalculable damage sustained in the service. The powder, instead of being sent on board unfilled, now comes prepared for immediate action, and thus one great danger of explosion is avoided;

for want of this salutary precaution, which we owe to Sir William Congreve, many ships, no doubt, have been lost at sea.

Nothing, it would appear, is now wanting to the perfection of our navy, but a system by which it may be more readily manned, without having recourse to impressment; this is a subject worthy of the first attention of the legislature, and no time is so favourable for the discussion as that of profound peace.

The advancement of science has been successfully applied to our favourite profession. Chemistry has enabled us to preserve the health of our crews, and philosophy has added to the velocity of floating bodies, by the application of steam. The voyages of Ross and Parry to Lancaster sound, and Melville island, have enriched the collections of the learned, and added to the stock of human knowledge, in the interesting branches of natural history and geography. The breakwater in Plymouth sound, one of the most stupendous works of any age or nation, has given us a safe sea-port, where a dangerous roadstead before existed. This valuable monument of our national enterprise and ingenuity we owe to the foresight of the Earl St. Vincent, and the perseverance of Mr. Yorke, by whom the following memorial was laid before his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

May it please your Royal Highness,

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having, in the early part of the year 1806, had under their consideration the

exposed state of Plymouth sound, and being deeply impressed with the importance of Plymouth, on account of the natural advantages it possesses as a naval station, directed Mr. Rennie and Mr. Whidbey, whose abilities eminently qualified them for this service, to examine and survey Cawsand-bay, the sound, Catwater, and Hamoaze; and particularly to state their opinion on the practicability of rendering the sound a secure anchorage for ships of war.

And those gentlemen having, by their report of the 21st of April, 1806, submitted to the Admiralty a full statement of all the advantages and disadvantages to which the harbours and roadsteads in the neighbourhood of Plymouth are liable; together with their decided opinion, that if a pier or breakwater were constructed in Plymouth sound, having its eastern end about sixty fathoms east of St. Carlos' Rocks, and its western end about three hundred fathoms west of the Shovel, forming in the whole a length of eight hundred and fifty fathoms, it would, with another pier, to be constructed from Andurn Point towards the before-mentioned breakwater, of about four hundred fathoms in length, having an inclined slant, forming an angle of about 120°, completely shelter Plymouth sound from all storms, without there being any danger of its lessening the depth of water, or any doubt of the practicability of executing the work; thereby enabling a considerable fleet of line-of-battle ships to ride within the sound with perfect safety, in all winds and in any weather, and with ample room to work out.

We beg leave most humbly to represent to your Royal Highness, that having lately taken the before-mentioned subject into our most serious consideration, and having also consulted several of the most intelligent naval officers of his Majesty's dock-yards thereon, by whose reports the opinions of Messrs. Rennie and Whidbey, of the practicability of the construction of a breakwater in the situation proposed, and of the security it would afford to his Majesty's ships, has been fully corroborated;—we have been led, from these reports, and from all information we have been able to obtain, as well as from every consideration we can give to the subject, to form the most decided opinion, that it would be highly expedient for the good of his Majesty's naval service, that the said breakwater should be undertaken without delay, on the plan proposed by Messrs. Rennie and Whidbey, the estimated expense of which amounts to one million, one hundred and seventy thousand pounds.

We are therefore induced most humbly to propose to your Royal Highness, that your Royal Highness would be graciously pleased, by your Order in Council, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to authorize us to give such directions for commencing this important work, according to the before-mentioned plan, proposed by Messrs. Rennie and Whidbey, as shall appear to us to be most expedient for the benefit of his Majesty's naval service; and to prepare a supplementary estimate, to be laid before parliament, of such part of the before-mentioned sum, as may be found necessary to expend thereon in the course of the present year.

Which is, &c.

(Signed) C. YORKE. R. BICKERTON. R. WARD. JAS. BULLER. WM. DOMETT. J. S. YORKE. F. ROBINSON.

Admiralty Office, April 9, 1811.

The first stone of this great work was laid on the 12th of August, 1812, its increase has been most rapid, under the direction of Mr. Whidbey, and it is probably the first instance of a national work, not exceeding its estimate. The mode of commencing it, was scientific and simple: two lines of white buoys were laid down parallel to each other across the sound, within which the stones were placed, by vessels constructed for the purpose—the material was purchased from the Duke of Bedford's estate, at Turnchapel, and cost as it lay, no more than one farthing per ton. The work forms an island of one thousand seven hundred yards long, three hundred and fifty yards from each end, inclining towards the citadel, in an angle of 120°; its base is three hundred feet in width by one hundred on the top of the plat-

form. The inclination of the outer side is three feet in slope to every foot in height, that of the inner side is eighteen inches to every foot: the former is an angle of 18° 30′, the latter 33° 30′ to the horizon.

On the 5th of September, 1823, the quantity of stone that had been laid down, amounted to two millions ninety-seven thousand two hundred and seventy-seven tons, and the work is so far above water as to be complete for all the purposes of breaking off the force of the sea.—In 1815, the Royal Sovereign, of one hundred guns, lay in the sound, and felt the benefits of its protection from a fresh gale at S. W. It will require five years longer for its completion; though there are twelve vessels employed on it, with nine men in each, and sixty men transporting stone to the water-side.

While this great work has been carrying on in the west, the east has not been neglected. A noble basin has been constructed at Sheerness, under the direction of the late Mr. Rennie, and on the 5th of September, 1823, it was opened with great ceremony, in the presence of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, Lord Melville, and an immense assemblage of the first people of the country. The Howe, of one hundred and twenty guns, was taken into dock on the occasion. There are three docks for ships of the line, opening into the basin, which is capable of containing six ships of the line in a complete state of equipment. Sheers are to be erected on the walls for masting

them. Store-houses are constructing on the most improved principles; and the whole work is to be fire-proof. But much remains yet to be done; the town of Sheerness, or Blue Town, as it is called, must be removed, and the north or sea wall widened, and raised; the foundation is already impaired, and much greater damage may be sustained, when the coffer-dam which defends it shall be taken away. The great dock is not large enough for the Howe, and will require alteration. Some doubts have arisen as to the expediency of laying out so much money on a foundation of sand; the ground on which the whole fabric stands was originally made by old ships and lumber heaped together, and some curious specimens of ancient naval architecture have been and are daily brought to light.

When we promised in a former volume, to offer some remarks on the rise and progress of the "dry rot," we were not aware that the subject had been so ably treated by Mr. John Knowles, of the Navy Office. That gentleman, in a work published in 1821,* has given a full description of this dreaded epidemic in our ships; the volume is luminous, and deserves the attention of every person connected with naval or mercantile affairs. Mr. Knowles has not confined his researches to the cause, effect, and remedy of this disaster, but has given a general history of woods most adapted

* An Inquiry into the means which have been taken to preserve the British Navy, 4to.

for ship-building, together with a series of philosophical experiments which have been tried with various success, on the best means of promoting the durability of ship-timber; and when it is considered how many lives of our valuable seamen, and not our's only, but of other nations, may owe their preservation to his detail of those discoveries, we shall not hesitate to bestow on him the highest title which can be given to man,—"a benefactor of the human race."

The term "dry rot," as applied to defects in the ships of the navy, says Mr. Knowles, "is a late introduction, and of no earlier date than 1808; hence an opinion has prevailed, that it is a disease of recent occurrence, and not what is the fact, that it has existed in all times, and that the name alone is new," p. 109. To prove that it is coeval with the days of Moses, he cites the 14th chapter of Leviticus, in which it is accurately described under the name of "leprosy in houses," and the same remedies directed to be applied, which have been practised with success in our own time. With respect to ships, its prevalence in the latter part of the seventeenth century, is fully proved from the writings of Mr. Pepys, who gathered toad-stools in their holds "as big as his fists." Hence it may fairly be concluded, that from the first invention of ships, they have been more or less subject to this decay, according to the state of the wood at the time of its being cut; to its application in naval

architecture; and to the degree of attention paid to the ventilation and cleanliness of the ships; to the climates in which they have been exposed, and the service which they may have performed.

In a work, professing for its object the history of our navy, it would be inexcusable to pass over a phenomenon which tends to the rapid decomposition of its chief material; and we conceive the surest mode of prevention, is to point out to mariners its causes, and to teach them how to detect it in its incipient state. For these purposes the work of Mr. Knowles is strongly recommended.

Considerable alarm was justly excited in the country, by the decay of our ships in the most active and urgent period of the late war. The term "dry rot," Mr. Knowles observes, is only applied to the decomposition of timber, when accompanied with fungus; air, heat, and moisture, which promote vegetation, are necessary to its production; great care should therefore be taken in the application of stoves to remove damp, otherwise the effect may be produced which is sought to be avoided. Wood constantly wet or dry, is not subject to this decay, while the parts of a ship exposed to heat and moisture or partial immersion, soon begin to shew signs of decomposition. From these few remarks it is obvious, how much the preservation of a ship depends on the attention of officers; in narrowly inspecting every part, removing casks,

or goods which have remained long in one position, dry scrubbing, sweeping, and ventilating as low down as it is possible to penetrate, beneath the orlop deck. Infinite, have been the improvements in our navy, since officers have applied themselves to considerations of such vital importance. The true picture of a ship of war of the old school, is to be found in Roderic Random. Such it continued to be in 1782, and was not much improved in 1792. The store-rooms were a chaotic mass of most things requisite for a ship, although nothing was to be found when wanted. The first instance we can remember of their being arranged in that beautiful order, now so generally observed in the service, was on board the Boston, in 1795, when commanded by the present Vice-admiral John Erskine Douglas. This was done by the carpenters of the ship, under the direction of the captain; the advantages soon became so apparent, that many captains followed the good example; and at length, government receiving into its councils some of the most active and influential officers of the navy, adopted the mode of fitting store-rooms throughout the service; and great are the benefits derived from it. The wings or intervals between the ship's sides on the orlop deck, and the various articles stowed there, such as cables, rope, planks, &c. are kept perfectly clear and clean, so that a person may, or ought to pass completely round the ship, below her line of fluitation. This space, intended principally for the carpenters in time of

action to drive their shot plugs, was formerly the receptacle of every species of lumber; births for messing, midshipmen's and quarter-masters' hammocks, chests, bags, and lanthorns; in short, it was a hot-bed, not only for dry rot, but for disease. The pump-well was sometimes so neglected, that as late as 1808, three men fell dead in the well of a ship of the line in the West Indies. Ventilation and the use of fires, have entirely eradicated this evil, and it can never occur again, but from want of attention in the captain. The method of fitting the bulk-heads of the well and store-rooms with lattices, is productive of two advantages, the circulation of air, and the prevention of fire: the yeomen having been known to conceal themselves there, to drink and smoke, and lights having been left locked up in them. From the first of these causes, the St. George was burnt at sea, in the year 1759; and from the second, the Ajax was said to have suffered in the Dardanelles, in 1806. A close smell or confined air on board a ship, in harbour or at sea, in fine weather, is generally a sign of neglect and bad management.*

* "The carbonic acid gas, formed from the breath of the crews and decomposition of timber, being heavier than atmospheric air, descends by its gravity into the hold, and is absorbed by the water in the pump-well; which at a temperature of 44° has the power of holding its own bulk of carbonic acid gas, and this power is increased by an increased temperature." (Knowles.) This is what we call bilge-water. The iron mast (should it be found to answer) will effectually cure this evil. The heat of the sun acting on it, will so rarefy the air within as to ensure a constant ventilation in the pump-well.

The Berlin and Milan decrees, in 1807, having shut us out from the ports of the Baltic, large quantities of oak, and red and yellow pine timber, were imported from Canada, and the use of those woods, it was found, was highly prejudicial to his Majesty's ships.

We give an instance, furnished by Mr. Knowles, of the effect of dry rot, on board the Queen Charlotte, of one hundred guns, in 1811. The keel of this ship was laid in October, 1805; her frame completed in December, 1806, and stood to season till September, 1808: the work was then continued till the 17th of May, 1810, when she was launched: in 1811, she was sent from Sheerness to Plymouth; where, in July, the dock-yard officers discovered that her topsides were in a state of rapid decay. Thus in a short space of fourteen months from her being launched, a first-rate ship of war, without having been in commission, was nearly rotten from the topside to the gun-deck clamps—below which there was no appearance of fungus. In the Queen Charlotte were found the following sorts of fungi: Boletus hybridus, boletus medulla panis, boletus lachrymans, xylostroma giganteum, and the auricularia pulverulenta.

The injury was ascribed to the great quantities of Canada oak, and American pitch-pine, used in the construction; but these, though subject to early decay, were not the only causes; the work had been commenced and carried on at improper

seasons, and the timbers saturated with rain water had been enclosed, by the planking of the wales. She was also caulked in winter; and perhaps the unseasonable application of fires in the hold, acting on the damp air and water so confined, produced the growth of fungi. The American wood was found much more affected than the British oak. Every defective part was either removed, scraped, or dubbed over, ventilation promoted, the ship kept dry during her repairs, which in 1812 were completed, to the amount of 30,000*l.* She was then put in commission, and has continued to be kept so to this hour; and the reports from Portsmouth, where she is the flag-ship, state, that she will last four years longer without any repair. This report must be a great consolation to those who considered the disorder incurable, and not to be checked by any means; and that every ship in the navy would require to be rebuilt in eight years.

As an experiment, the Eden of twenty-six guns, having the dry rot, was, at the recommendation of Sir R. Seppings, sunk in Barn-pool, in November, 1816, and having been six months in that state, was weighed, commissioned, and sent to the East Indies, where she remained three years; on being opened at Deptford, in 1821, it was discovered that no fungus existed in those parts where it was usually found; but her iron work appears to have been more corroded than in vessels of her age. With all these precautions, we cannot flatter our-

selves that the dry rot will ever be effectually eradicated: we have lately seen some melancholy instances of it in ships not more than eight years off the stocks. France has it as well as ourselves: it is more common in large ships than in small ones, and is generally found in the most secluded places, as under the floors of the magazines, or in the wales above water, where the air cannot penetrate.

We add a list of ships built of foreign woods, of which the teak is the most durable, the red pine of America the least: the frigates constructed of the last sort seldom ran longer than four or five years.

Rate.	Guns.	Names.	Built. When.	Built. Where.	Description of Timber.
3	74	Blake	1808	Deptfd.	Oak from Holstein in Germany.
		St. Domingo	1809	Woolwh.	
5	36	Malacca	1809	Prince of Wales. Island.	Of the different sorts of wood that grow in the island.
Ship.	Sloop.	Halifax	1806	Halifax	Birch, red pine, and oak.
5	38	Tamar	1796	Chathm.	Of fir imported from the Baltic.
		Clyde	1796		
	36	Trent	1796	Woolwh.	
		Glenmore	1796		
	32	Maidstone	1795	Deptfd.	
		Shannon	1796		
		Circe	1804	Plymouth	
		Pallas	1804		
		Hebe	1804	Deptford.	
		Minerva	1805		
		Jason	1804	Portsm.	
		Alexandria	1806		
Ship.	Sloop.	Dasher	1797	Bermuda	Cedar, the growth of the island.
	10	Driver	1797		
	18	Hunter	1797		
		Rover	1797		
		Indian	1806		
		Bermuda	1806		
		Martin	1809		

Rate.	Guns.	Names.	Built. When.	Built. Where.	Description of Timber.
Ship.	Sloop.	Atalante	1808	Bermuda	Cedar.
2	84	Ganges	1821	Bombay	Wholly of teak.
2	84	Asia	Now building.	Bombay	
3	74	Malabar	1808	Bombay	
		Melville	1817	Bombay	
		Minden	1810	Bombay	
		Wellesley	1815	Bombay	
		Hastings	1818	Calcutta	Frame of Saul, plank teak.
5	46	Seringapatam	1819	Bombay.	
		Trincomalee	1817		
		Madagascar	1822		
		Amphitrite	1816		
	42	Doris	1808		
		Salsette	1806		
6	28	Alligator	1821	Cochin	Wholly of teak.
		Termagant	1822		
		Samarang	1822		
Brig.	18	Victor	1814	Bombay	
		Zebra	1815		
	10	Camelion	1816		
		Sphynx	1815		
Brig.	16	Challenger	1806	River Tham.	Pitch pine of America.
		Goshawk	1806	River Tham.	Baltic fir.
Brig.	18	Raven	1804	Riv. Tham.	Baltic fir.
		Saracen	1804		
		Beagle	1804		
		Harrier	1804		
		Elk	1804		
		Reindeer	1804		
5	40	Glasgow	1814	———	
		Liverpool	1814	———	
		Severn	1813	Riv. Tham.	Pitch pine of America.
		Liffy	1813		
		Forth	1813		
	38	Cydnus	1813	Riv. Thm.	
		Eurotas	1813		
		Niger	1813		
		Meander	1813		
		Pactolus	1813		
		Tiber	1813	Fishbrne.	Red pine of America.
		Araxes	1813	Riv. Thm.	
		Tanais	1813	Rochester	
	36	Tagus	1813	Fishbrne	
		Eridanus	1813	Rochester	
		Tigris	1813	Ditto	
		Ister	1813	Riv. Tham.	
		Scamander	1813	Frinsbury	
		Orontes	1813	Upnor	
		Euphrates	1813		
		Hebrus	1813	Riv. Tham.	Yellow pine of America.
		Granicus	1813		
		Alpheus	1814		
	28	Athole	———	———	Of larch.

There are two ships of thirty-six guns each, now building at Deptford, of timber imported from Sierra Leone, the Andromeda and Alarm; the former from wood called turtosar, the other, conta.

A very considerable change has of late years taken place in the arrangement and connexion of the materials which compose the fabric of our ships of war, and also in the formation of their bows and sterns. It will not be expected that we should give a detailed description of changes of such magnitude; the principle of which is the substituting the triangle for the rectangle, and by so arranging the materials in the hold, that they shall form a diagonal trussed frame, composed of a series of triangles.

The system of trussing is also extended between the ports aloft, though not with equal effect, owing to the shrinking of the wood; but a uniform strength is generally preserved throughout the fabric of ships so constructed, it being a settled principle with the author of this system, to keep in view these two leading axioms,—"That the strength of a fabric consists not so much in the quantity of the materials of which it is composed, as in the disposition, the connexion, and the security of its several parts." And, "That the strength of a ship, let its construction be what it may, can never exceed that of its weakest part, and consequently, that partial strength produces general weakness."

The ships constructed on this system, have the interstices between the ribs filled with slips of

wood, and are caulked within and without, the larger intervals being filled up with mortar, by which the bottom may be said to be rendered impervious to water, even should a ship so constructed have the misfortune to lose her keel, and a proportion of the plank off the bottom.

This system of ship-building, as it respects the change in the direction of the materials, was first commenced at Plymouth, on the Glenmore, in the early part of the year 1800; in 1805, it was farther applied at Chatham, in the Kent of seventy-four guns, to give additional strength to that ship, she having been found very weak, after her return from the Mediterranean. It was next introduced to a certain extent, in the building of the Warspite in that yard (launched in 1807); and after the principle had been examined at the admiralty, by a committee of the best informed men in the kingdom, it was finally directed to rebuild the Tremendous to the full extent of the diagonal principle, which was extended even to the decks; and such were the reports of this ship, that it has been since generally adopted in the British navy, and some millions have already been expended in the building and repairing ships on this system. For a particular account of the principle, see Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1814.

With respect to the change in the bows of our ships of the line, perhaps the following account will not be unacceptable. Sir Robert Seppings,

had the direction of cutting down the Namur (in 1805) from a three to a two-decked ship, and it occurred to him that it would add to her strength, if the *circular bow* remained in the wake of the middle-deck, now become the upper or main-deck; that it would not only tend to give the bow additional support, but would protect the men in that part from being exposed to raking fire. When this ship was completed, the change was universally approved, and its necessity shewn, by the Victory, after the memorable battle of Trafalgar; in which it was observed that she had suffered on her upper or main-deck, through the beakhead, when running down to the enemy, from the want of continuing the circular bow with the regular timbering, as is now practised; and it was perfectly evident, that had this ship been so formed, many a life would have been saved, as no shot of any description appeared to have entered the lower or middle-decks, where the bow was regularly and solidly built; while the common grape-shot had raked her through the slight bulkhead at the fore-part of the main or upper-deck. One great advantage of this new mode of building, was raising the bowsprit and head-rails of the ship some feet higher than they had previously been. This plan is generally admitted to be good, and was universally adopted during the naval administration of Mr. Yorke.

The utility of the circular form at the bows being admitted, he was determined to introduce

the same system at the stern; and thereby do away that which he supposed to be as weak in point of defence, as faulty in construction, compared with the rest of the fabric. By this change Sir Robert Seppings contends that he has obviated these imperfections; but he found that the approbation bestowed on the same system, at one extreme of the fabric, met with a very different reception on its introduction at the other.

After a careful personal investigation of the subject, we shall lay before our readers the result of our observations on this important change.

The Prince Regent of one hundred and twenty guns, has a round stern, which art, labour, and expense have combined to render perfect. The after-part of the lower and middle-decks offer a beautiful specimen of naval architecture; but the advocates for the square stern contend, that on the main-deck the advantages are less visible, and that on the quarter-deck and poop there is a melancholy defect. These decks, they say, though in some degree widened, have lost much in length and superficial extent, by the after-part being cut off in a line with the stern-post, and by the rounding of the quarters; that the comforts of the officers should never be lost sight of, without some adequate compensation in point of defence or safety, and that here they are entirely sacrificed for no reason; a trifling alteration in the form of the ports in the square stern, will enable it to bring more guns on a given point than the round stern;

while the rudder of the latter, having lost the over-hanging protection of the decks and the middle counter, may be carried away by the accidental or designed concussion of a friend or an enemy."

A noble admiral, who has had much experience in these matters, wishes to know why an enemy should be allowed to obtain the "point of impunity," if such point exists? But admitting that a shot should enter in that direction, it might, in a square stern, pass along by itself, while in a round stern it would be attended by a cloud of splinters from the short transverse oak planks between the stern-ports. The heavy iron cranes on which the boats are suspended, become so many powerful levers, whose fulcrum is placed on the upper works of the quarters least calculated for the strain; while the construction of the base to which the main-braces are attached, affords less support to the main-yard. The timbers bent round the quarters are destroyed by the very act, and though much more liable to decay, are less capable of being replaced.

It is now in contemplation to obviate all the defects complained of in the Prince Regent; the round stern will be still retained, but partake of all the good qualities of the square stern, without any of its defects. When this is done, when a gun can be as easily brought to action, from a stern or quarter-gallery port, as from the bow,

we shall have no hesitation in preferring the new construction to the old; but at present, in point of outward appearance, as well as inward comfort, cleanliness, and decency, the square stern has every advantage. This observation will occur with great force in round stern ships going before the wind, or having passengers.*

Leaving the building or improvement of our ships of war in the able hands where it has been judiciously placed, we shall conclude this subject by observing, "that at no period of our naval history has England possessed a fleet more efficient than at the present time."†

The dimensions of a few more of the most approved ships are here added, to shew the progress of naval architecture. The Commerce de Marseilles has been far exceeded by the Americans, who have built five ships of the line of the same dimensions as the Ohio. The Howe is now the largest in our service, but we trust we shall not long be outdone by our transatlantic rivals. The tonnage of America is not calculated like that of France; this may account for the apparent difference between the Commerce and the Ohio, which is forty feet longer and two feet four inches wider than the Howe.

* A description of the new system is to be found in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, for July, 1822; and also in the Quarterly Journal of Science and the Arts, published January 1, 1823.

† Mr. Knowles.

No. of guns, and when built.		NAMES.	Dimensions.			Tons.	Number of guns, and calibre, on each deck.									
			Length of the		Breadth extreme.		Gun-deck.		Middle.		Main.		Quarter.		Forecastle.	
Guns.	Built.		Gun-deck.	Keel for tonnage.			No.	Calib.	No.	Calib.	No.	Calibre.	No.	Calibre.	No.	Calib.
			ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.											
130	unknown	Commerce de Marseilles (French)*	208 4	172 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 9$\frac{1}{2}$	2747	34	36	34	26	34	18	18	12	10	12
120	1815	Howe	205 0	170 7$\frac{1}{2}$	53 8	2619	32	32	34	24	34	18	6	12	2	12
												Carron.	10	32	2	32
												Rd. Hou.	6	18		
120	1815	St. Vincent	204 11	170 10	53 8	2601	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
110	——	Ohio (American ship, built at New York)	245 0	200 0	56 0	2640	unkn.	42	—	32	—	32 Congrev.				
100	——	Trafalgar	196 0	162 9	52 6	2386	28	32	30	24	30	18	6	12	2	13
												Carron.	8	32	2	32
												Rd. Hou.	6	12		
100	1814	St. Laurence (on Lake Ontario)	198 0	171 6	52 7	2305	34	32	30	24	34	32 Carron.				
80	——	Formidable (as Canopus, building)	193 10	160 0$\frac{2}{3}$	51 5$\frac{1}{2}$	2255	30	32	—	—	32	24	4	24	4	24
												Carron.	14	32	4	32
												Rd. Hou.	4	24		
50	1813	Leander (frigate, with spar-deck)	174 0	145 1$\frac{1}{4}$	45 1$\frac{1}{2}$	1572	—	—	—	—	30	24	28 Spar-deck.	24	4	24
44	——	President †	173 3	146 7$\frac{3}{4}$	44 4	1533										
40	1797	Endymion (as French Pomone)	159 3	132 3	42 7	1277	—	—	—	—	26	24	14	32	6	32
36	1809	Theban	145 0	121 9	38 2$\frac{1}{2}$	947	—	—	—	—	26	18	12	32	2	9
														Carron.	2	32
32	1781	Quebec	126 3	104 2	35 6	700	—	—	—	—	26	12	8	24	2	9
														Carron.	2	24
28	1784	Dido	120 5	99 3	33 7	595	—	—	—	—	24	9	4	6		

* Weight of metal is given in French pounds.

† American frigate, taken by the Endymion and squadron.

Mr. Robert Bill has lately invented an iron mast and bowsprit, which he confidently expects will supersede the use of wooden ones, being, as he says, infinitely more durable, less liable to accident, lighter, and less expensive.

A cylinder of four feet long, and thirty-two inches in diameter, is supported within by six bars of the same length, six inches wide, and half an inch thick; on the flat of this bar, another of three inches wide is run along its centre; thus the curvature of the first flat bar is counteracted by the lateral pressure of the second: at each end of the cylinder a ring is inserted, formed of angle iron, three inches wide, producing a flange; and being accurately turned in a lathe, it is made to unite the cylinders by means of twenty-four rivets of an inch and a half diameter. Diagonal bars or bearings, are introduced from the interior surface of the cylinder to its opposite side, and riveted to the sides and standards. The mast being of the same dimensions, for a first, second, or third rate, may be readily constructed or repaired by the smiths of the ship, wherever the spare cylinders may be had. A mast of a hundred and twelve feet long would weigh something less than one of wood of the same dimensions; the cost of the latter double that of the former. Should it be intended to cut away the mast, the operation would be performed by knocking out the forelocks, which connect the cylinders just above the quarter-deck: a dangerous operation.

The great doubts we entertain on the subject of this novel invention, are, first, the effects of shot; and, secondly, the power of the forelocks or screws to hold the masts together in a hurricane, or in carrying sail. The tremendous effects produced on a wrought iron gun-carriage, by one shot striking it, leave us little reason to expect more success with a wrought iron mast.

Sir Robert Seppings has lately invented a new wooden mast. One for a ship of eighty-four guns, would have no less than forty-five pieces, from thirty-three to fifty feet long; the ends are coaked together, and secured with clasp-hoops, compressed by screws; any piece may be shifted with great ease in case of injury by shot, or other defect; each piece is no more than nine inches square; any number of them may be sent abroad in small vessels, at a trifling expense. The old masts are composed of eight pieces, and cost three times the sum of the new ones. The Ganges of eighty-four, the Genoa of seventy-four, and the Naiad of thirty-eight guns, have been fitted with them; and the latter ship having been to sea under the command of the Honourable Captain Spencer, that officer has made a favourable report of them. The same has been received from the Genoa, after a long cruise.

From the building of ships we come now to the far more serious consideration, of procuring seamen to man them. From the official

returns laid before parliament, we see with the deepest concern a gradual decrease in the number of merchant ships and vessels built in Great Britain during the last three years, and by the subjoined tables, we shall perceive the number of hands employed to navigate our trade has decreased more than eight thousand men; at the same time we admit, what may appear paradoxical, that the shipping cleared outwards has rather increased.

We should not discharge our duty did we pass over this alarming symptom of national decay; and we call on the advocates of retrenchment and reform to say, whether their false economy has not produced a state of things which may lead to the subversion of the British empire? The promotion of a few deserving officers became the subject of rancorous abuse against the admiralty, in the last session of parliament. The number of seamen in our guard-ships is scarcely sufficient to man the few boats allowed to them; while our dock-yards, instead of being filled with sturdy, honest labourers, are crowded with convicts, whose introduction to the cradles of our navy we may one day regret with unavailing sorrow. The famous saw-mill at Chatham, so much admired by M. Dupin, may save the wages of fifty-five pair of sawyers, whom the interest of the money expended on the building would have maintained in loyalty and happiness.

An account of the number of vessels, which belonged to the several ports of the British empire, on the 30th of September, 1820, 1821, 1822; their tonnage, and the number of men and boys usually employed in navigating them.

30th September, 1820.

	Vessels.	*Tons.*	*Men.*
United Kingdom	21,473	2,412,804	155,335
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	496	26,225	3,775
British Plantations	3,405	209,564	15,304
Total	25,374	2,648,593	174,414

30th September, 1821.

	Vessels.	*Tons.*	*Men.*
United Kingdom	21,163	2,329,213	150,424
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	489	26,639	3,859
British Plantations	3,384	204,350	14,896
Total	25,036	2,560,202	169,179

30th September, 1822.

	Vessels.	*Tons.*	*Men.*
United Kingdom	20,756	2,288,999	147,529
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	482	26,404	3,788
British Plantations	3,404	203,641	15,016
Total	24,642	2,519,044	166,333

Custom House, March 24, 1823.

Shipping entered inwards in the united kingdom, exclusive of intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

Years ending	British and Irish Vessels.			Foreign Vessels.			Total.		
Jan. 5,	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Ves.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
1820	11,396	1,614,365	93,004	4,252	638,034	36,660	15,648	1,252,399	129,664
1821	11,285	1,668,060	100,325	3,472	447,611	27,633	14,757	2,115,671	127,958
1822	10,805	1,599,423	97,485	3,216	396,107	26,043	14,066	1,995,530	123,528
1823	11,087	1,663,627	98,980	3,389	469,151	28,421	14,476	2,132,778	127,401

Cleared outwards, exclusive of Ireland.

Years ending	British and Irish Vessels.			Foreign Vessels.			Total.		
Jan. 5,	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Ves.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
1821	10,102	1,549,508	95,849	2,969	433,328	24,545	13,071	1,982,836	120,394
1822	9,797	1,488,644	93,377	2,626	383,786	22,162	12,423	1,872,430	115,539
1823	10,023	1,539,260	95,998	2,843	457,542	25,394	12,866	1,996,102	121,392

By the same returns, it is consoling to see a gradual and very considerable increase in the numbers of ships and men employed in the trade of Ireland, during the same period; and nearly in the same proportion as the decrease of British vessels.

That benevolent institution, the Marine Society, deserves to be recorded in history for its laudable and humane exertions. This society was instituted in 1756, and owes its origin to the late Sir John Fielding, and his Grace the Duke of Bolton; the former, an active magistrate, collected a number of poor boys, who were starving in the streets of the metropolis, or driven to vice for their support; the latter clothed them at his own expense, and sent them on board the Barfleur, where his Grace's flag was flying. On their way to join that ship, some of them were met by Mr. Walker, of Lincoln's-inn, who was so much struck with the advantages of the plan, that he became one of its most active supporters.

The late Mr. Jonas Hanway, without any connexion with the noble duke and gentlemen above mentioned, proposed at a meeting of merchants, that they should form themselves into a society, to give clothing to landsmen and boys for the sea service. From that time (June, 1756) to the end of the war in 1763, the society furnished to the navy and merchant service, five thousand, one hundred and seventy-four men and boys. In 1772, the society was regularly incorporated; and since its establishment, up to the year 1822, it has furnished to the navy and merchant service, seventy-two thousand, two hundred and forty-three men and boys. It is supported by voluntary contributions of the king and royal family, and a great portion of the nobility and gentry of the country. The Iris frigate, moored off Deptford, is the present receptacle of these poor lads; and from the cleanliness and good order observed on board of her, is well worthy of public inspection and support.

In the year 1816, much distress was observed to prevail among the seamen, from the recent reductions in the navy, and a general stagnation of trade. Many of those brave fellows ended their days in the streets, perishing of want and cold. Mr. Wilberforce, M. P. and Lieutenant James Edward Gordon of the Royal Navy, stated their sufferings to some merchants in the city, and the case was considered of so urgent a nature, that a general meeting was called at the King's Head in the

Poultry; when so many of the brave defenders of their country appeared to claim a morsel of bread, that it was decided to appeal at once to the government and the public; a committee was formed; and in a very short time subscriptions to the amount of 15,000*l.* were placed at their disposal. Temporary relief was administered, and gratefully received. Seven sloops of war were lent to the committee by the board of admiralty; and in a very short time we had the satisfaction to see the great national reproach taken from the country, "that British seamen, who had fought her battles, and probably saved her from a foreign yoke, were starving in her streets:" in the course of a few weeks a begging sailor was not to be seen, and all impostors under that respectable and imposing garb were detected and punished. Upwards of three thousand men have been relieved, provided with ships, and cured of disorders which might have ended fatally; more than one hundred have died on board, though under the most able medical attendance: the Grampus, a fifty-gun ship, now the only one belonging to the society, is fitted up for the reception of destitute seamen of *all nations*. Here they require no other recommendation than misery; they are immediately taken on board, and when cured, are permitted to seek employment, or sent to ships whose masters are willing to take them. Innumerable are the marks of gratitude the society has received from the objects of its charity; and the

contribution of a day's pay from a poor sailor, is at once a tribute of acknowledgment, and an acceptable gift to the fund, which by such contributions is enabled to extend its kind offices to the "child of want."

It might be inquired, why the destitute seamen could not be received into Greenwich Hospital, or the many receptacles for the sick, in and about the metropolis? To this we reply, that Greenwich Hospital is only open to those who have served a certain number of years in the navy, or have lost their sight or their limbs in action; and the charitable institutions of London can admit patients only under certain forms and regulations, of which these unhappy objects are totally ignorant.

The Grampus, lying off Greenwich, we will venture to say, is one of the most useful auxiliaries to the government, in relief of distress. Her cleanliness, comfort, and regularity, are unrivalled, and the good effects produced on the minds of seamen in general, by this generous sympathy of their countrymen, render her an object of national interest.

There is one branch of the naval service, whose rapid improvement, in the last twenty years, has contributed more to our victories than all the books of science or naval tactics that were ever compiled: we mean the science of signals, for such it may justly be called.—He that enabled the great Nelson to say to his fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, in the short space of three minutes,

"England expects every man will do his duty," deserves more applause from his country, than seems to have been granted. Few, except seamen, are aware of the existence of the sea telegraph, or that we are indebted for this invention to the late Rear-admiral Sir Home Popham.

The progressive improvement in the means of communication, by signal or sign, deserves our attention.

Polybius, the Greek historian (Hampton's translation, vol. iii. p. 174), speaks of a code of signals, rude and imperfect no doubt, but sufficient to shew that the subject was one of great importance with his countrymen, inasmuch as it was connected with the art of war. The flaming torches to denote or attract attention, the inscriptions on the jars, from which the water was allowed to run out till the cork or bung floated on a level with the intended message, prove that the Greeks had some idea of the necessity and practicability of signals. The same author speaks of a plan of his own invention, which, though extremely complicated, bears some resemblance to the night telegraph. He embraces the whole alphabet, and conveys words and sentences; but we do not find any mode by which the ancients signified their intentions in the day-time by the symbols of flags, colours, balls, or frames.

Dr. Hooke,* in a discourse to the Royal Society, in 1684, says, it is possible to convey intelligence

* European Magazine, 1794, p. 251.

from one high place to another, though thirty or forty miles distant, in as short a time as a man would take to write what he would have said. His plan, though never adopted, was similar in principle to the land telegraph invented by the late Lord George Murray, bishop of St. David's: he proposed to fix telescopes of great power on distant eminences, with people placed by them to watch at certain periods. The present mode is to have *a constant* watch at the telescopes, by which means a signal is immediately answered.

On what occasion flags of divers colours were introduced as a medium of communication, we do not exactly know; but we learn, on the authority of Hume, that James II. when Duke of York, was the first inventor of sea signals; and the Pere La Hoste speaks of them as in common use in the French fleet in 1697.

Signals, however, had made but little progress at the close of the first American war, when the late Admiral Kempenfeldt, who was drowned in the Royal George, at Spithead, had applied himself to them, and had introduced great improvements. In the peace of ten years which succeeded, the science slept. The ships which sailed for India in 1789, had a very scanty supply of flags, whose signification denoted nothing more than the common messages of calling officers on board, of discovering strange ships, or seeing the land, &c. The war of 1793, found the navy with Lord Howe's tabular signals, and the flag-ship's signal book. These

were our only heralds in the 1st of June, but from that period their advance was rapid, and the benefits derived to the service equally great. In the year 1795, signal posts were established along the south coast of England. The approach of fleets, squadrons, or enemy's cruisers, was immediately made known, and our convoys apprized of any danger. These stations were furnished with a comfortable residence for a lieutenant, a midshipman, and two seamen, whose salary and comfort depended on their vigilance; their signals were made with balls and flags, or pendants displayed on a mast or yard, rigged for the purpose.

The land telegraph erected by Lord George Murray, was established in the same year, between London and the principal sea-ports, and produced a celerity of movement and sudden departure of our ships quite unknown in our former naval history. The French had certainly preceded us in the use of this instrument, or one answering the same purpose; and, as early as 1793, had them between Paris and the Netherlands.

The code of signals, as issued by the admiralty, in 1793, was the first in which the flags singly had been made the representatives of the numeral figures. No. 1, was a red flag. 2. White, with a rectangular blue cross. 3. Blue, white, blue, vertically divided. 4. Yellow, with a black stripe at the top and bottom. 5. Quartered red and white. 6. Blue and white, diagonally divided. 7. Blue,

with a diagonal yellow cross. 8. Yellow, with a blue fly, i. e. half yellow, half blue. 9. A Dutch jack reversed, or blue, white, red; the cypher blue, pierced with a white square; the substitute, striped red and white; and a pendant representing 100, white, with a red fly or tail. Capable as these were of being extended to any amount, it is singular that the highest number in the book of 1793, is 183; this was Lord Howe's book in the action of 1794. There were, however, other signals with pendants and triangular or divisional flags, besides the fog and night signals, and the compass signals. The code used by the private ships was that which had been mentioned before, called the tabular signals; they consisted of eight flags, and a white flag as a substitute. They only made the number of 68, and were laid aside about the year 1799, when the whole code was much enlarged, and private ships had the same flags and signals as the admiral. At length, in 1803, the telegraph appeared, as the invention of Sir Home Popham, not in its present comprehensive form, but containing a sufficient number of sentences to satisfy the utmost wish of a naval officer of that day. At first it was confined to flag-ships, but soon after distributed generally to the navy; the flags of 1793 were retained, and the gradual improvement of the sea telegraph, to what it now is, leaves little reason to expect higher perfection. We may converse on any subject at such a distance as flags can be discerned; and a word of Johnson's Dictionary, or an article

of the Encyclopædia may be signified with a momentary waving in the wind of a graceful and beautiful flag. The night signals have not yet attained the most perfect state, but a new night telegraph has been presented to the Society of Arts, by Captain John Weeks of the Royal Navy, and has met with a favourable reception from the admiralty; their lordships, however, decline using it in time of peace, as being unnecessary. This instrument, which is simple, is contained in an oblong square box, with shutters to display or obscure the lights, and is susceptible of the same numbers as the day signals. Upon this subject we might enlarge beyond our limits. The naval reader will find nothing new in what has been said; but his indulgence is requested in favour of those who may now for the first time be taught, how ships at a distance may silently converse with each other, or communicate intelligence to the shore.

The semiphore, at present used by the admiralty, was taken from the French, who had it on all their signal posts along the coast: in 1810 we obtained their key, and knew every message which was conveyed from one port to the other. Captain Frederick Marryat, of the Royal Navy, has invented a set of telegraphic signals, adapted to the merchant service, and highly beneficial to ships in every state of distress. In the month of December, 1822, the following notice was given in the French newspapers: "The telegraphic signals used by the merchant-vessels in England, and

common to those of other nations, are, by order of the minister of the marine, to be used in the navy."

We shall now offer a few remarks on the resources of our enemies, or of the nations, who by any sudden political change might become so. Recollecting the influence possessed by Bonaparte in the uttermost corners of Europe, we can look back only with wonder and thankfulness, that Great Britain should have weathered the storm, which, in the years 1803, 4, and 5, was rising against her.

The then recent events in the Baltic, had left us no reason to depend on the friendship, or even the neutrality, of the northern powers. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, must have followed the standard of Russia; and thus, by the breath of Alexander, concurring with the malevolence of Bonaparte, the whole coast, from Archangel to the Bosphorus, might not only have excluded our commerce, but have been in active hostility towards us. After the battle of Copenhagen, the navies of the north were not neglected, but augmented with very considerable industry, as the history of succeeding years will prove. Holland, though divided between the lovers of the old and the new order of things, was preparing a fleet, and had many seamen. Antwerp, under the particular superintendence of Napoleon in person, was rising into a vast naval arsenal, nearly equal in importance to Brest: situated on the eastern side of the British empire, on a coast

eminently dangerous and difficult to watch, it at once divided our forces, and increased our alarms on the dangers and consequences of invasion. The timber and materials for building and equipment were conveyed down the Rhine, into the ports of Holland and the Scheldt, in great abundance; and the money required to defray the expense, was extorted from the countries under the influence or control of the French government. The artists employed in the construction of the ships at Antwerp, were never remarkable for putting their work well together; to answer an immediate purpose was all that was required, without any regard to ulterior results. The fleet of ships of the line, which rode on the Scheldt in 1809, would probably have fallen to pieces in a gale of wind at sea, with the weight of their guns; still they were to be attended and blockaded by a British fleet of nearly equal numbers. The gun-boats and transport vessels of France and Holland, for the purposes of invasion, were rapidly increasing, as will hereafter be shewn. The nursery for seamen was very extensive on the northern and western coasts of Europe; and in the south France possessed greater resources than might be supposed, both in the number and quality of her seamen. The coasting trade of the Mediterranean is usually carried on by vessels called feluccas, manned with from fifteen to twenty men: the ample lateen sail is spread on a yard equal in length to the mainyard of an eight-and-thirty gun

frigate, and requires men of peculiar habit and character to manage it. These seamen were always ready to man the fleet of Toulon, and soon became expert in the service of a ship of war. The feluccas are chiefly used from the mouths of the Var to the Rhone; they trade to the ports of Barcelona, Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, and Nice, and in war time occupied the vigilance and attention of our most enterprising cruisers. Great commercial speculation existed between the port of Marseilles and Egypt, and the risk incurred of capture by the British vessels of war, was counteracted by the insurance effected in London. Alexandria, Smyrna, and Tunis, carried on their exports and imports under a French flag, but generally under that of the states of Barbary. Genoa and Port Especia contributed, both in men and ships, to the augmentation of the French navy; and we have already shewn, that France derived her supplies of timber, in those ports and Toulon, from Corsica. The Adriatic also afforded them a considerable share of naval stores; and from Ancona they received the finest hemp in the world. The increase of the Spanish marine and commerce, as an auxiliary of France, will receive due notice in its proper place.

The Turkish navy is not to be overlooked in this glance at the power and resources of the Mediterranean. The conduct of France to the Sublime Porte, in 1798, and the brilliant deeds of Nelson, in Egypt, offered no solid pledge for the friendship of Turkey; and we are to witness the

contention between the fleets and forts of that power, and the British navy.

The Ionian islands had frequently changed their masters: they are now appendages of the British empire, and may be safely intrusted to our hands for the happiness of the inhabitants. They abound in excellent harbours, and give us a commanding position on the eastern extremity of Europe, preserving a wholesome check to the power of France in the centre. The trade from Ancona to these islands, and the shores of the Adriatic, is very productive, and easily available to the neighbouring ports of France and Italy, Genoa and Venice. This last once celebrated place has no longer a claim to any maritime consideration; the causes of its decay are best known to the cabinets of Vienna and the Tuilleries.

This rapid sketch is meant to shew the importance of the Mediterranean command, and the heavy responsibility attached to the situation of the British admiral on that station. Malta, Sardinia, and Sicily, were coveted by Napoleon, and it was only the British navy that prevented his gaining possession of them. The Barbary powers were kept in good humour by the occasional presents of the British government, or the threats of her admirals: but their system is bad and replete with dangers; these piratical states ought at once to be rooted out, or made to conform to the laws of nations. We have abolished the trade in black slaves; why should we witness the captivity and bondage of Christians among savages?

The Earl of St. Vincent.
First Lord of the Admiralty.

From a picture by Sir Wm. Beechey.
Engraved by R. Cooper for Capt.n Brenton's Naval History.

NAVAL INQUIRY.

The Earl of St. Vincent had great influence in the cabinet in 1802; and we owe to his wise and vigorous administration, while at the head of the admiralty, the present sound and healthy state of its navy. The dock-yards had long been, as he expressed, "a sink of corruption." From these Mr. Colquhoun, an enlightened magistrate, calculated that the government was plundered of one million a year; and experience convinces us that his estimate is not overrated.

The naval hospitals and receptacles for sick were narrowly inspected. The comforts of the patients were minutely attended to, and the establishments assumed a more respectable and efficient form, than they had ever done since we had become a maritime power.

It was in consequence of his Lordship's suggestion, that the board of naval inquiry was first instituted. The powers demanded by the bill were considered too extensive, and its progress was watched with a jealousy proportioned to its magnitude; its enemies being among those who were above suspicion of any collusion or sinister motive. It was alleged that the admiralty and the navy board possessed those powers, by their patent, which they sought by the bill. This was charging them with an absurdity, and a wanton abuse of the time and talents of the house; but it was clearly not founded in fact; and had it been true,

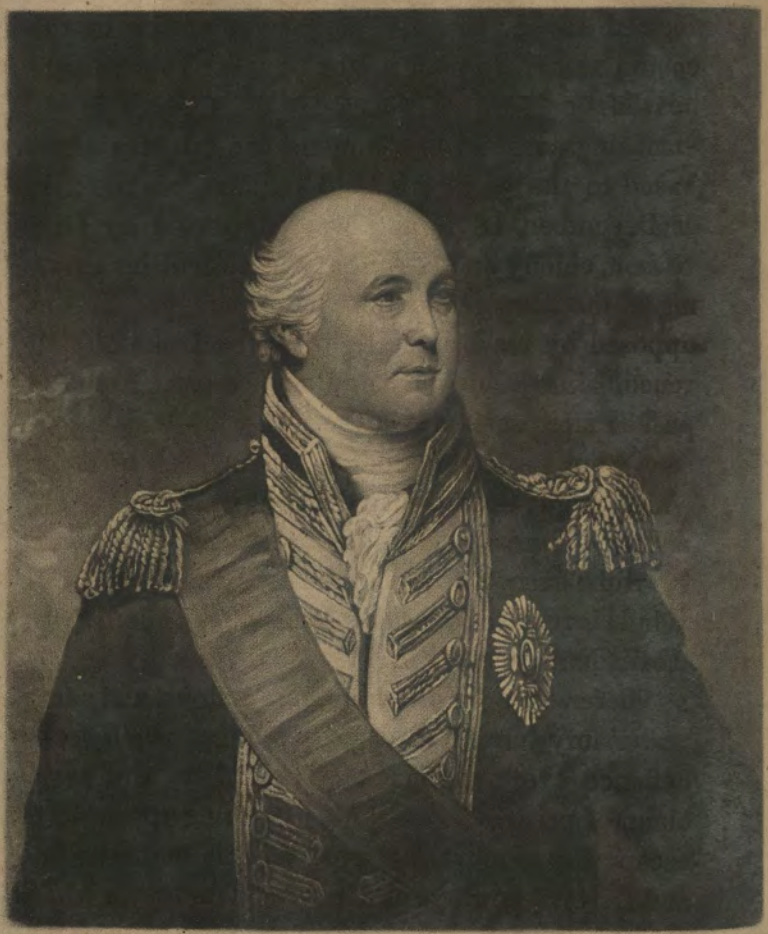
could not have affected the demand of the admiralty, which, in its multiplicity of business, had not time to enter on the proposed inquiry.

The bill was first introduced to the commons by Captain John Markham, then a lord of the admiralty, who stated, that the board of admiralty had not the leisure time sufficient to examine these abuses with minuteness; and moreover, that they were not empowered to administer oaths for that purpose. He disavowed any idea of conveying censure on the preceding board of admiralty, whom the circumstances of the war had prevented from going into the necessary inquiry.

Admiral Berkeley contended, that on examining the patent of the admiralty, he was convinced that their lordships had those powers, which it was now intended to give to commissioners.

Mr. Jarvis said, the admiralty was not possessed of all the powers now demanded by the bill. That board could neither regulate prize-agents, nor call for papers or records. These commissioners were moreover expected to inquire whether abuses existed in the higher departments of the navy, in the admiralty and navy boards; it would therefore be highly improper that these boards should be judges in their own cause.

The most novel feature in the discussion of this bill was pointed out by the attorney-general, who observed, that perhaps it was now the first time when ministers, having called for inquiry into abuses, were resisted by the opposition. The fear



ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES M POLE BART K.C.C.B.

Engraved by Turner from a Picture by Sir Willm Beechey R.A.

FOR CAPT BRENTONS NAVAL HISTORY.

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seemed to be, that by the power vested in the commissioners, a man might be made to criminate himself.

Having passed the commons, the bill was introduced to the lords by Lord Pelham, on the 21st of December, 1802, and was supported by Lord Nelson, chiefly on account of the difficulties existing in the navy respecting prize-money. It was opposed by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, as mischievous and unnecessary; but it passed after certain modifications, by which persons were protected from answering any question which might tend to criminate themselves.

The commissioners appointed were Vice-admiral Sir Charles M. Pole, Bart., Ewen Law, Esq., John Ford, Esq., Captain Henry Nicholls, of the Royal Navy, and Wm. Macworth Praed, Esq.

There was a boldness in their actions, and a firm and manly tone in their proceedings, which set at defiance every suspicion of partiality, and every claim of private friendship. Nothing appeared to escape the penetrating eyes of this commission; and the civil courage and independence with which they conducted their laborious investigation, will immortalize their names to the latest posterity.

The foreign dock-yards, which were the subject of the first report, were scrutinized with ability, and immense advantage ensued to the public. Commissioners were appointed to those which had them not before; regular supplies of naval stores were sent out, and the nation saved the expense of

purchasing these articles at an enormous price and discount, besides the mortification of seeing our naval arsenals supplied by the American traders.

The second report related to the chest of Chatham, one of our oldest institutions for the relief of distressed and disabled seamen. The original written constitution of the chest is supposed to have been lost during the usurpation of Cromwell; but its foundation is satisfactorily traced as far back as the year 1590, when Queen Elizabeth, truly sensible of the value of her seamen, induced the masters, mariners, shipwrights, and seafaring men employed in her service, to contribute annually a small portion of their wages towards making a fund, which has been increased from time to time by various bequests and royal donations; from this the shipwrights, some time after, withdrew. The money raised was ordered to be kept in a *chest* or strong box, having five locks, the keys of which were kept separately by a principal officer of the navy, a master attendant, a master shipwright, a purser, and a boatswain, for one whole year; at the end of which, they were to deliver their keys, each to his successor in office. It is singular, that such continued to be the laws of the chest till 1803, when it was found, that the seamen were put to great inconvenience and expense, in travelling from London to Chatham, to procure their pensions or "smart money;" in addition to which, Greenwich Hospital and Chatham, by fraudulent practices of the

seamen, often relieved the same object. Under these considerations, and from some evidence of the funds not having been duly administered, the chest of Chatham was transferred to Greenwich Hospital; and that noble establishment, improved and augmented, continues to afford the most cheering prospects to the young mariner. As he enters his adventurous career of life, he may hope after all his dangers are past, to spend the remainder of his days in peace and quietness, under the ample roofs, and at the hospitable board, provided by the munificence of a grateful king and country.

By the third report, the supply of blocks to the navy was proved to be too expensive, and the famous block machine was established at Portsmouth, for the manufactory of these articles, under the superintendence of that ingenious mechanic Mr. Mark Isembard Brunel, the inventor.

The fourth report related to prize causes, and the commissioners proved, that during the war, from 1793 to 1802, one house at Jamaica had received into its hands the sum of 2,143,000*l.* sterling, and owed to Greenwich Hospital 290,000*l.*! The wages of run-men and their prize-money, also all unclaimed shares, are by law transferred to the chest of Greenwich. Some very wholesome checks were given to the foreign agents, who were compelled to pay in their unclaimed balances, within three months after distribution.

The fifth report relates entirely to the collection

of the sixpenny contribution from the wages of all seamen employed in the merchant service; to which was added, one moiety of the wages of men deserting from ships in the African trade; and also the receipt of wages of seamen dying in the West India trade. From these returns, it appears, that in the years 1790 and 1802, the sums paid and the numbers employed were,

1790 . 13,338*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* by 54,808 seamen.
1802 . 20,225*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* — 77,918 ———

In the year 1790, being that of the Spanish armament, the amount of run-men's wages was only . . . . . 16*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*

1795	431	4	3
1799	2,014	18	1
1800	2,441	5	4
1801	2,827	1	9
1802	2,530	1	0

These forfeitures, though great, are not equal to what might have been expected in such a navy as our's; taking the greatest year, 1801, and admitting that every man left six months' pay, it would give little more than three hundred men.

The sixth report increases in interest, far above those which have preceded it, and explains in some measure the assertion of Mr. Colquhoun, of the enormous frauds practised in the naval arsenals of the united kingdom.

It begins with the dock-yard of Plymouth, which we learn was first established in the year 1691,

previous to which time, the master shipwright and the artificers were borne on board one of his Majesty's ships fitted for that purpose.

The first appointment of a commissioner to superintend this establishment, was in 1720:* but according to the report, his power was so limited, and his patronage so small, that he had very little influence over those he was supposed to command. He is by patent, like those of Portsmouth and Chatham, a principal officer and commissioner of the navy: and detached by the board of admiralty, to any particular place, where his services may be required; during the war, commissioners were stationed at Minorca, Corsica, Bermuda, Antigua, Ceylon, Madras, and Bombay; but they were not like those of the Cape, Halifax, and Gibraltar, included in the patent.

In May, 1801, some regulations were established by an order in council, for the better government of the dock-yards, grounded on the report made in 1788, by the commissioners appointed by the 25th of the late King to inquire into the fees and emoluments of the public offices.

The new orders regulated the management and conversion of timber, abolished fees and perquisites, and the long established privilege of carrying chips out of the yard. By this latter means, much valuable property had been made away

* Burchet says, there were commissioners to the three great dock-yards in 1720; but commissioners of the navy were appointed by the Duke of York (afterward James II.) in 1660.

with, independently of the time consumed by the workmen in forming their bundles out of good and serviceable materials, in which copper bolts were frequently concealed. In lieu of these perquisites, a proper allowance was made to each class, and with which, after much resistance and discontent, they remained satisfied.

In the examination of Woolwich dock-yard, one fact alone was exposed, the detection of which should be considered as fully equivalent to all the expenses incurred by the appointment of the board of inquiry, and subsequently of a commissioner of the navy, to attend at that arsenal.

The Amaranthe, a frigate of twenty-four guns, taken from the Dutch, 1799, by Vice-admiral Mitchell, having *been surveyed* by the *officers of Chatham* yard, and reported fit for his Majesty's service, was purchased for the sum of 2,241*l.* for her hull only, her stores and furniture were paid for separately, and she was ordered to Woolwich to be fitted for sea service; here, after an expense of 8,273*l.* more in repairing her, she was commissioned by Captain Boys, and proceeded to the Downs, where she was discovered to be so defective in her bottom, as not to be deemed fit to ride at an anchor in that roadstead; and there can be no doubt that, had she met with any bad weather, she must have foundered at her anchors, the copper being the only security to prevent the entrance of the water. She was sent immediately to Sheerness, when the officers reported that she

must be taken into dock. Arriving at Deptford for that purpose, it was found necessary to pay her off, and soon after to break her up; and it was ascertained on inquiry, that she had had new decks and top sides, while her bottom was rotten; and that she was not inspected according to the rules of the service, by taking out some of the bottom planks, to look at the state of the timbers.

Thus the first cost of the ship . .	2,241*l.*
Materials and workmanship . .	8,273
Furniture and stores . .	4,731
Total	15,245*l.*

making the cost of this crazy vessel come to more than a new frigate of thirty-two guns, besides the time lost in equipping her, and the imminent risk of her foundering.

The seventh report takes into consideration the state of the naval hospital at Stone-house, near Plymouth, and the Caton hospital ship, where a scene of fraud was discovered, which could not have been too speedily checked, and proves to what a shameful excess the hope of impunity had carried these servants of the public. None, we think, can read this report, without being convinced of the benefits derived to the service in general, from the patient investigation of these institutions, which from that time, May, 1803, became so cleansed and purified, and thoroughly reformed, that even an officer, be his rank what it may, cannot go to a safer, more certain, or more

comfortable asylum for the cure of wounds or disease, than a royal naval hospital.

The eighth report regards the victualling department at Plymouth, and displays a scene of peculation which could scarcely be credited, and proves the necessity of the most rigid inspection.

The ninth report continues to investigate the receipt and expenditure of stores at the same port; great abuses were discovered in the receipt of the articles of timber, hemp, and coals, and also in the article of paint-work.

The tenth report was one of more than common interest, relating to the office of treasurer of his Majesty's navy, during the time it was held by the late Lord Melville. This report caused the resignation of his Lordship of his office as first lord of the admiralty, which he held at the time the proceedings of the commissioners were laid before parliament, April, 1805. On the 8th of that month, Mr. Whitbread moved his resolutions in the house of commons, which, after one of the most able debates ever witnessed in that house, was carried against Lord Melville by the speaker's vote, there being two hundred and sixteen on each side; in consequence of which, on the 10th, Mr. Pitt acquainted the house, that his Lordship's name was erased from the list of privy-counsellors; and on the 25th June, it was decided that he should be impeached. The process of that famous trial is too well known to be here repeated; his Lordship

was acquitted by the peers, but did not resume his situation as first lord of the admiralty, in which, it must be admitted, he had proved himself a great benefactor to the navy.

The eleventh report related to the issue of navy bills, for the purpose of raising money; loss from the mode of paying the interest on navy and transport *bills*; and money *imprested* by the navy-board, for secret naval services.

The twelfth report relates to the purchase of hemp, masts, and fir, for the use of the navy. These two reports disclosed much matter advantageous to the public service, without attaching any great degree of blame to individuals.

The perseverance and fortitude exhibited by the framers of this bill entitle them to the thanks of their country; the ability with which it was carried into effect, and the independence displayed by parliament, have been celebrated even by our political enemies. See *Dupin*, tom. 3me.

November 21, Vice-admiral Sir William Parker was tried by a court-martial at Portsmouth, on a charge of having sent his flag-ship, the America, of sixty-four guns, and the Cleopatra frigate, to cruise beyond the limits of the Halifax station, on which he commanded. The question arose in consequence of the loss of the America, she having ran on the shoals called Las Farmigas, and having been with great difficulty got into Port Royal harbour, grounded on the mud, and there remained.

The court was of opinion, that the Admiral was justified in sending the ships to the southward, but indiscreet in his detailed instructions for her return within the limits of her station; and declared the general character of Sir William Parker to be such, as to preclude the idea of his having been influenced by any motive unconnected with the good of the service; he was, therefore, most honourably acquitted.

It would now be extremely difficult to divert the services of a ship from her proper station, as the limits of each are so distinctly drawn. We can well remember when it was a practice for the Newfoundland cruisers to run as far to the southward as 17° north, this being evidently an improper practice, was discontinued.

A case of great importance to the naval and commercial world, was decided in the year 1802.

The vice-admiralty court of Nassau, New Providence, one of the Bahama islands, had condemned an American, going from the United States to a port in the Spanish colonies, upon the ground that the articles of innocent merchandise, composing the cargo, though really neutral property, were of the growth of Spain.

This principle having been sanctioned, exposed the American trade, particularly in the West Indies, to continual capture and condemnation.

On the representation of Mr. King, the case was more attentively considered, and the decree reversed at home. The reasons assigned for the

ultimate decision of government are worthy of notice, particularly to the naval reader. The captors, it appears, were vindicated by what was termed the belligerent's right to distress his enemy, by interrupting his supplies; and the law of nations, acknowledged in the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, which allows the goods of an enemy to be lawful prize, and pronounces those of a friend to be free.

This Mr. King admitted, but in virtue of the ancient law of nations, claimed the protection of innocent merchandise, while he abandoned to belligerents the goods of his enemy; contending, with strict propriety, that the belligerent had no better authority to curtail the rights of neutrals, than the latter had to infringe on those of the belligerent.

On this subject a letter was addressed by the Duke of Portland to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, with an extract from the report of the advocate-general.

Whitehall, March 30, 1801.

My Lords,

I transmit to your lordships herewith, a copy of the decree of the vice-admiralty court of Nassau, condemning the cargo of an American vessel, going from the United States to a port in the Spanish colonies; and the said decree having been referred to the consideration of the King's advocate-general, your lordships will perceive from his report, an extract from which I enclose, that it is his opinion, that the sentence of the vice-admiralty court is erroneous, and founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the principles laid down in the decision of the

high court of admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitations therein contained.

In order, therefore, to put a stop to the inconveniences arising from these erroneous sentences of the vice-admiralty court, I have the honour to signify to your lordships, the King's pleasure that a communication of the doctrine laid down in the said report, should be immediately made by your lordships to the several judges presiding in them, setting forth what is held to be the law upon the subject by the superior tribunal, for their future guidance and direction.

I am, &c.

PORTLAND.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Extract of the advocate-general's report, dated March 16th, 1801.

I have the honour to report that the sentence of the vice-admiralty court appears to me erroneous, and to be founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the principles laid down in the decision of the court of admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitations therein contained.

The general principle respecting the colonial trade, has, in the course of the present war, been to a certain degree relaxed, in consideration of the present state of commerce. It is now distinctly understood, and it has been repeatedly so decided by the high court of appeal, that the produce of the colonies of the enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be re-exported from thence, even to the mother-country of such colony: and, in like manner, the produce and manufactures of the mother-country, may, in this circuitous mode, legally find their way to the colonies. The direct trade, however, between the mother-country and its colonies, has not, I apprehend, been recognized as legal, either by his Majesty's government, or by his tribunals.

What is a direct trade, or what amounts to an intermediate importation into the neutral country, may sometimes be a question of some difficulty. A general definition of either, applicable to all cases, cannot well be laid down. The question must depend upon the particular circumstances of each case.

Perhaps the mere touching in the neutral country to take fresh clearances, may properly be considered as a fraudulent evasion, and is, in effect, the direct trade; but the high court of admiralty has expressly decided (and I see no reason to expect that the court of appeal will vary the rule), that LANDING THE GOODS AND PAYING THE DUTIES IN THE NEUTRAL COUNTRY, BREAKS THE CONTINUITY OF THE VOYAGE, AND IS SUCH AN IMPORTATION AS LEGALIZES THE TRADE, ALTHOUGH THE GOODS BE RESHIPPED IN THE SAME VESSELS, AND ON ACCOUNT OF THE SAME NEUTRAL PROPRIETORS, AND BE FORWARDED FOR SALE TO THE MOTHER-COUNTRY OR THE COLONY.

(A true copy.) JAMES WAGNER,
Chief Clerk.

How very difficult for a naval officer to perform his duty, when the laws by which he is guided, and the orders under which he acts, are capable of such varied construction! A neutral by the simple, though circuitous, mode of purchasing a cargo at Martinique, going to St. Augustine or Charlestown (nothing out of his way to Europe); taking a fresh crew, and other papers, may proceed to any port not blockaded:—who can detect whether he has paid the duties or not? and, if paid, who knows but they may have been immediately refunded?

The capture of French fishing-boats by British cruisers, was a subject of difficult and intricate discussion, being a question susceptible of much variety of opinion, founded more on assertion than facts. Some of these vessels were large boats of sixty tons burden, with half decks. The French government having caused them to be held in readiness to convey troops, for the purposes of

invasion, or our government having received information to that effect, an order in 1798 had been issued for their detention, and afterward rescinded, but on fresh suspicion arising, the order was again repeated and enforced. The reasons for renewing this violent proceeding are given in a letter from Mr. Dundas, to the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

Downing Street, January 21, 1801.

My Lords,

Having received various advices, that the French government has abused the favours granted to the fishermen of that nation, according to the letter addressed to your lordships, the 30th May last, by which I informed you, that it was his Majesty's pleasure that the orders given to cruisers, to capture all the fishermen, as well as their boats, should be recalled; having even reason to believe, that these fishermen, as well as their boats, are in requisition, and sent to Brest to equip and arm the fleet there; and that those who were released from prison, in order to be sent home, under the express condition of not serving again, are comprised in that requisition; I am ordered to signify to your lordships, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that the orders given in consequence of my letter of the 28th January, 1798, be again put in execution, as far as relates to the fishermen and their boats; and that the commissioners charged with the service of the conveyance and guard of prisoners of war, be authorized to demand, in the usual mode of communication, that all those set at liberty upon parole, be required to return into this country; and to signify to them, as well as the French government, that those among them who neglect to obey these orders, shall be made to suffer all the rigour of the laws of war, in case they should again be made prisoners, while serving the enemies of his Majesty.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DUNDAS.

Whether, in this discussion, the reasoning of Mr. Otto had any weight, we cannot determine: a per-

severance in such a measure was, he observed, more likely to fill the French navy with men, driven from their natural occupation. The order was a second time rescinded. But in justice to our government, it must be observed, that the relative situation of the two countries was widely different. France had declared its intention of invading England, and it had been put forth by them, that there was not a fishing-boat but what would convey a certain number of soldiers; and calculating the number of their boats from the Texel to Rochefort, at the moderate number of two thousand, and that each might convey fifty men, the extent of such a force is readily estimated; nor do we think the point would have been so soon abandoned, had not the representation of Mr. Otto been accompanied by certain indications of a pacific nature. The seizure of these boats was continued with great rigour in the years 1803, 1804, and 1805.

CHAP. VI.

Causes of renewal of the war—Illegal seizure and condemnation of four British vessels—State of preparation in England and the colonies—Committee of supply—Observations of Mr. Grenville—Chancellor of the Exchequer—Comparison of naval forces—Sir Sidney Smith—Right Hon. C. Yorke—His observations on the land forces of France and England—King's message to parliament of 8th March—Ditto, 16th May, announcing war with France—Ditto, 17th June, respecting Holland—Malta—Remarks in the house of lords, by the Duke of Clarence, Lords Mulgrave and Melville—Disposition of the naval forces—State of the dock-yards as to naval stores—Acts of hostility—Doris takes Affronteur—Minotaur the Franchise—Naiad the Impatiente—Loire the Venteux—Capture of the Minerve—Gallant conduct of Honourable Lieut. Walpole—Anecdote of a wounded sailor—Remarks on Monsieur Dupin's work—Treatment of prisoners of war—Cruelty and injustice of French government—Generosity of individuals towards English prisoners—Monsieur Dubois—Peregaux—Anecdote of Captain Hallowell—Detenues—Shameful treatment of them by French—Cruelty to crew of Minerve—Relieved by the British government and their own officers—The blind sailor—French government *forbid* relief to prisoners—Refuse an exchange—Comparison between French and English officers in care of their men while prisoners—Observation in refutation of Monsieur Dupin—Pontons, causes of suffering, owing to the French only—Reflections.

It is the distinguishing mark of a base mind, to increase in violence in proportion as his adversary offers terms of conciliation. Such was the conduct of Bonaparte towards the government of Great Britain in 1802; and the best informed men of the empire were not so much surprised at the

preparations for war, as at the forbearance of the king and his ministers. The order for seizing French property, which did not issue till May, ought, in their opinion, to have preceded the signing of the definitive treaty; the measure was no more than an act of self-defence, justified by the unlawful seizure and condemnation, in the ports of France, of four British vessels.

The Fame, a packet from Southampton to Guernsey, was forced by stress of weather into Cherbourg; and in pursuance of a decree of the infamous Robespierre, was confiscated, and the captain condemned to six months' imprisonment, although his entry into the port was from distress, and on the very day, December 19, 1801, that the French fleet, by our permission, sailed for St. Domingo! In January following, another vessel, the Jennies, Captain Muckle, freighted in England with coals for Charente, and other merchandise for Spain, was, on her arrival at Rochefort, seized and confiscated, under pretence of her having on board *prohibited* or *British* merchandise. In July following, after the definitive treaty had been signed, the Nancy, an English vessel, bound to Rotterdam, with a cargo of *foreign* merchandise, which had been made prize of during the war, legally condemned and sold, with the proper cautions to the purchaser, that it was for exportation, was driven by stress of weather into Flushing, where she was seized by *the French*, and confiscated. The last case we shall

mention is that of the brig George, which had arrived at Charente, *in ballast*, purposing to return with a cargo of brandy; this vessel was seized under pretence of having English goods on board, these were the plates, knives, and forks of the captain's mess, and not more than sufficient for himself and passengers. All the representations of Lord Whitworth, Mr. Merry, and Mr. Jackson, to the minister Talleyrand, were unavailing. The Chief Consul observed, with the most insolent contempt of every right of nations, "that *justice must* take its course."

The history of Sebastiani's Egyptian tour, and the gang of spies, or "commercial agents," as they were called, is well known. These gentlemen were distributed in all the sea-ports of the united kingdom; their whole system was one tissue of intrigue and deception; they were not called by name in the despatches of the French government, but by number, as 1, in London, 2, in Dublin, &c. Their orders were to make themselves acquainted with the nature of our commerce, the number of vessels in each port, and the state of the manufactures. This was fair and justifiable, but they went farther; being enjoined to furnish *a plan of* the harbours, the depth of water, and the winds required to take a vessel in and out; all which they accomplished.

These people carried on their inquiries not unknown to our government, whose patience or apathy appears to have exceeded all just bounds;

and we can account for such conduct, only by supposing that those who made the peace were resolved to keep it.

Many and grievous were the insults put upon us. The Prince of Bouillon, a captain in the British navy, was arrested and imprisoned in Paris, and after six days' confinement, ordered to quit France without delay. The last, though not the least affront, was an attack on the liberty of the press; the British government being desired by the Chief Consul, to prevent that abuse of his person and measures with which our periodical publications abounded.* Mr. Otto, too, the French minister, was offended at meeting in the drawing room of St. James's, the unhappy princes of the house of Bourbon, decorated with the orders of their murdered monarch!!! To what could all this tend? in what could it be expected to terminate? War was not only unavoidable, but just and necessary to preserve the honour, and even the existence, of the empire. If we had the time or the patience, it would be foreign to our plan, to detail the innumerable insults offered to the British government. Ministers at length, roused to indignation by the voice of the people, called forth the energies of the empire; and France was made to feel the danger of disturbing the slumbers of the British lion. It was a fortunate circumstance, that the detachment of British ships sent to the West

* In the weekly publication, called the Ambigu, by Peltier.

Indies in 1802, to watch the movements of the French fleet, was not ordered home on the signing of the definitive treaty. Some indeed were sent to England, and others to Halifax in Nova Scotia, but the best of them remained on the station, where their services were soon required. To the early and impolitic display of his temper and views, on the signing of the preliminary treaty, the Chief Consul might attribute the abortion of his plans. Some portion of St. Domingo might have been reconquered by the army of Le Clerc, had the French not been viewed with a jealous eye by the British Admiral; and Pondicherry, in the East Indies, might have received a French garrison; the British fleet might have been paid off, and our army disbanded, had the First Consul not been thrown off his guard, and disclosed his plans prematurely. We are not writing a defence of ministers, but a history of events; and wish only to raise this conviction in the minds of our countrymen, that, instead of blaming our government for going to war, we should wonder they remained so long at peace.

Having shewn the conduct and feeling of the French government towards this country, we must advert to the proceedings of the British parliament; where we shall perceive that the flame of honour and patriotism was still burning, and soon burst forth with astonishing effulgence and overwhelming power.

On the 2d of December, the resolutions of the committee of supply were brought up. The first was, that fifty thousand seamen be employed for the service of the year 1803, including twelve thousand marines.

On the resolution being put, Mr. Grenville expressed his astonishment at the conduct of ministers, who proposed a vote of so many additional seamen, without stating the necessity for it; he considered such an explanation was due to parliament, before they agreed to the proposition of the minister. "The speech, in fact, contained no sentiment or opinion applicable to the present times, or to any former period of our history; it was a mere collection of truisms. In former speeches, delivered at critical periods, there were some declarations of the opinions of ministers, with respect to the state of Europe; in the present there was not even the attempt made. Last year, the minister said he considered thirty thousand seamen sufficient for our peace establishment, at present he demanded fifty thousand. Parliament ought to be informed of the reasons of this excess. If we were likely to continue in peace, parliament might think it too much; if we were likely to be soon at war, they might think it too little."

He wished the house to consider the vast exertions that both France and Holland were making for the restoration of their navies. Spain and Portugal too, were so completely under the influence of France, that she would be enabled to di-

rect their strength against this country whenever she chose; and perhaps shut us out for ever from the Mediterranean. Wherever we turned our eyes, we must see the progressive aggrandizement of France. He was decidedly of opinion, that the sum which was demanded was too large for a peace establishment, and yet too small either for war, or to enable us to interfere with weight in the affairs of the Continent.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer trusted that the house would not believe, that it was from disrespect, that he did not think it necessary to preface the resolutions with any observation. The right honourable gentleman and his friends, had a very short time ago felt, that there were sufficient reasons for a larger establishment, and they called for it; but now, when an increased establishment is proposed, he was asked what was the reason for this excess? If he and his friends believed the descriptions they had themselves given of the state of Europe, he should suppose no farther reasons could be necessary to them at least, for an increased establishment. It seemed now to be agreed by every body, that a strong defensive force was necessary for this country, in the present situation of Europe. As to the increase of the Dutch navy, when it was considered how it had been reduced last war, it was no wonder that exertions were made to restore it; but if there was no supineness on our part, those exertions could not be to us injurious.

In the beginning of the last war, the fleets of the enemy were as follow: France had one hundred and five sail of the line, Spain seventy-nine, and Holland twenty-seven; but this force was so reduced, that France had but thirty-nine, Spain sixty-three, and Holland sixteen. The British navy now exceeds the navies of France, Spain, and Holland, by *sixty sail of the line;* and proportionably in frigates and sloops of war. Under those circumstances, he did not think this country need feel any serious alarm from the naval exertions of the powers which France could influence to join her. His Majesty's ministers had no other wish than to be enabled to put forth, upon any emergency, a force sufficient to repel all danger from this country.

Sir Sidney Smith expressed regret at the great reductions which were suddenly made, both in the king's dock-yards, and in the navy in general. A prodigious number of men had been consigned to the utmost poverty and distress; and it might be apprehended, that they would be obliged to seek employment in foreign states.

In the house of commons, on the 8th of December, 1802, the secretary at war (the Right Honourable Charles Yorke) acknowledged, that the estimates, which it was his duty to present, were, for a military establishment, much higher than had been kept up at any former period, when the country was at peace; and the question for consideration was, whether circumstances did

not justify such an increase. He thought the present situation of Europe, and the relative condition of this country and the neighbouring nations, had been sufficiently described in the preceding debates; and were, indeed, too obvious to require that he should attempt any farther explanation upon that subject. The overgrown power of France, which had now realized all the dreams of Louis the Fourteenth and his ministers, its menacing attitude, and the ambitious and enterprising spirit of its present government, spoke too strongly to the feelings of every rational man, to render any observations of his necessary upon the subject. He considered that the feelings of the nation had been distinctly manifested; that we should preserve the peace we had made, so long as it could be preserved with honour; that we should also abstain from aggression and irritating language; but that, at the same time, we should be always ready and prepared to repel aggression, and to resent a national insult. In consonance with this feeling, he wished to abstain from a war of words with the enemy; but to be always in a state of preparation against any alternative, was his great object.

"France," continued the right honourable gentleman, "is now possessed of the Netherlands; she is all powerful in Holland, and mistress of the whole course of the Lower Rhine, the Maese, and the Scheldt. With such an immense increase of sea-coast and naval resources, as well as territo-

rial power, our navy alone, however excellent, could not be entirely depended upon, for the protection of such an extensive coast as ours from the dangers of invasion. The military force of France at the commencement of the present year, consisted of eighty-four regiments of cavalry, amounting to forty-six thousand men, a hundred demi-brigades of infantry, and a hundred and thirty of light infantry, amounting to three hundred and forty-one thousand; there were fourteen thousand veterans employed on garrison service, and the artillery establishment was twenty-six thousand. So that, upon the whole, the regular force of France amounted to about four hundred and twenty-eight thousand men; to which were to be added, near half a million of *gens d'armes*, which he did not mean to state as regular troops, but still they must be reckoned as something. Such being the state of military preparations in France, and such being her position, it was necessary for this country also to hold itself in a high military state of preparation. No nation could look for the continuance of peace, without feeling a proper confidence in its own means of defence and security. It was, therefore, the duty of every government to provide such means of defence; as without them, all the accumulations of commerce and wealth would only lead to an accumulation of anxiety, disgrace, and misfortune. He had heard of objections to an increased establishment, both on the grounds of the constitution and of eco-

nomy. He thought all these objections would be answered by simply asking, whether that force, which, in the present state of Europe was necessary to guard the country and its constitution, was both agreeable to the constitution and to true economy?" He then proceeded to state the force that was necessary to be kept up for the ensuing year, which was: thirty regiments of cavalry, including horse and dragoon guards, amounting to seventeen thousand, two hundred and fifty men; three regiments of foot guards, six thousand six hundred men; one hundred and two battalions of regular infantry; together with eight West India regiments, amounting to four thousand, one hundred and fifty-eight men. Of foreign corps also, it was proposed to retain the regiments of Stuart, Meuron, and Watteville, amounting to two thousand, five hundred and thirty-two. The whole of the force would be one hundred and twenty-nine thousand men. The general distribution that was intended, was sixty thousand for Great Britain and Ireland, thirty thousand for the Plantations, and the rest for India. The expense of this force would be something above 4,000,000*l.* the entire expenses of the army for the ensuing year, he calculated at 5,500,000*l.* which was less by 2,000,000*l.* than the expense of the present year, and by 10,000,000*l.* than the expense of the last year of the war. He vindicated the conduct of the administration from the charge of having imprudently disbanded the

army; and stated that the actual force for the defence of the united kingdom, would amount to two hundred thousand men, including the militia and yeomanry; this was a force which he thought would not tempt any foreign nation to attack us.

After these public declarations of our forces, and their distribution, with the views of the Chief Consul, the nation was not surprised at his Majesty's message respecting the armaments in France and Holland; it was as follows:

March 8, 1803.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the house of commons, that, as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominion; though the preparations to which his Majesty refers are avowedly directed to colonial service, yet, as discussions of great importance are subsisting between his Majesty and the French government, the result of which must at present be uncertain, his Majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful commons, in the full persuasion that, whilst they partake of his Majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of peace, he may rely, with perfect confidence, on their public spirit and liberality, to enable his Majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require, for supporting the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his people.

This message appeared, and in fact did amount to, a declaration of war. The English who were travelling in France, rushed in multitudes to the sea-coast, though some imprudent persons, listening to the fallacious promises of Talleyrand, de-

layed their departure, of which they had the bitterest cause to repent.

His Majesty was graciously pleased, by his message of the 16th May, to announce a war with France.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the discussions which he announced to them in his message of the 8th of March last, as then subsisting between his Majesty and the French government, have been terminated; that the conduct of the French government has obliged his Majesty to recall his ambassador from Paris, and that the ambassador from the French republic has left London.

His Majesty has given directions for laying before the house of commons, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as will afford the fullest information to his parliament at this important conjuncture.

It is a consolation to his Majesty to reflect, that no endeavours have been wanting on his part, to preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace; but, under the circumstances which have occurred to disappoint his just expectations, his Majesty relies with confidence, on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, and on the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects, to support him in his determination to employ the powers and resources of the nation in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment which, at present, actuates the councils of France, in upholding the dignity of his crown, and in asserting and maintaining the rights and interests of his people.

His Majesty's message announcing war with Holland, June 17, 1803.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty thinks it right to inform the house of commons, that, from an anxious desire to prevent the calamities of war being extended to the Batavian republic, he communicated to that government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided that a similar disposition was manifested on the part

of the French government; and that the French forces were withdrawn from the territories of the republic: this proposition not having been admitted by the government of France, and measures having been recently taken by them, in direct violation of the independence of the Batavian republic, his Majesty judged it expedient to direct his minister to leave the Hague, and he has since given orders that letters of marque and general reprisals should be issued against the Batavian republic and its subjects.

His Majesty has, at all times, manifested the deepest and most lively interest for the prosperity and independence of the United Provinces; he has recourse, therefore, to these proceedings with the most sincere regret, but the conduct of the French government has left him no alternative; and, in adopting these measures, he is actuated by a sense of what is due to his own dignity, and to the security and essential interests of his dominions.

The following statement of the naval forces of the empire in commission on the 1st December, 1802, may be pretty confidently relied on as correct.

	Line.	Fifties.	Frigates.	Sloops.	Total.
Fitting	9	3	39	44	95
Guard ships	1	—	—	—	1
Home stations, as cruisers	—	—	12	29	41
Leeward islands and passage	2	—	6	21	29
Jamaica	9	—	9	9	27
North America and Newfoundland	—	1	5	5	11
Cape, East Indies, and passage	6	7	13	15	41
Coast of Africa	—	—	—	3	3
Portugal	—	—	3	2	5
Mediterranean	10	2	20	13	45
Hospital and prisons	1	—	—	2	3
Total in commission	38	13	107	143	301
The state of the ordinary it is difficult to define as to effective ships, but their numbers were	134	12	103	75	324

In September, 1803, the London Gazette announced that the navigation of the Black Sea was granted to British and French vessels.

The occupation, by France, of Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont, were only the precursors to more daring violations of the treaty of Amiens and the laws of nations. The designs on Egypt, as tending to the subversion of our Indian empire, were still cherished by the implacable Consul; and Malta was to have been the stepping-stone for this important undertaking. We have remarked in a former chapter, the anxiety expressed by Bonaparte to get possession of this formidable port; which, perhaps, but for the advice of the Earl of St. Vincent, would have been given up to him, or, what was in effect the same thing, to the Neapolitans. The observations in parliament clearly illustrate this subject.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence mentioned the conversation of Bonaparte with Lord Whitworth, in which the First Consul declared his views respecting Egypt. At the time of the treaty it was considered a primary object to guarantee the independence of Malta; but the destruction of the order, and the change in the relative situation of France since the treaty, made it more necessary than ever not to restore the island, till its independence could be perfectly secured.

Lord Mulgrave not only concurred in these sentiments, but observed, that if ministers would submit any longer to the insolence of the French

government, they would have Napper Tandy sent over to them as a commercial agent, and Arthur O'Connor as proconsul of Britain.

Lord Melville was glad to find that the importance of Malta, as a key to Egypt, was universally acknowledged, and that we had a right to secure its independence against the ambition of France. In the actual state of Europe, Great Britain and Russia were the only powers capable of giving security to Malta: he felt rejoiced that the negotiation, as it affected that island, was at an end, and was content to say, that for *this cause* we went to war. His Lordship might have added, not for that only, but for many others.

France, by her conduct after signing the preliminary treaty, had rendered (as his Lordship justly observed) the restoration of that island impossible. The Pope had the nomination of the grand-master; and this office having become vacant, the government, in fact, would be placed in the hands of Bonaparte, on account of his uncontrolled influence over the pontiff, and the confiscation of the property of the knights in France, Spain, Lombardy, and Piedmont. In addition to these reasons, the Maltese themselves no sooner heard of the intention of making them over again to the knights, than they sent a deputation to England, consisting of the most respectable of the inhabitants, and conveying in no equivocal terms their sentiments on the proposed arrangement.

These gallant men were received at the court

of St. James's, in a manner not at all corresponding to their deserts, or the important mission on which they were sent; and they were informed, that as their residence in London might excite the jealousy of France, they were welcome to depart. Nothing in fact but the declaration of Lord St. Vincent, and the folly of Bonaparte, prevented our giving up Malta, and receiving Lampedosa. Those however, who conclude that the treaty of Amiens broke upon the tenth article, look only to the surface, while the real cause lay much deeper. Malta in 1803, like the Scheldt in 1793, was the ostensible, but not the real, cause of the war.

Thus, after the pompous exposition of Mons. Thebadeau, extolling the power, resources, and moderation of France; her love of peace, of justice, and of the rights of man and of nature, she kindled a new war in Europe; in which all the greater powers compelled the weaker to join. Denmark and Holland were the principal sufferers; and the flame of discord raged with unprecedented fury, until the authors of the dire calamity were overtaken and destroyed by the vengeful arms of Britain, guided by the skill and courage of Wellington and Nelson; and the British empire, by the aid of Providence and a good cause, restored the blessings of peace to mankind.

The first measures of the British government were directed towards the reconquest of the colonies of the enemy, which, during the peace of Amiens, we had restored to them. St. Lucia and

Tobago soon fell into our hands again. The Cape of Good Hope, having been first ordered to be evacuated, the British troops had resigned to the Dutch a part of the forts, when a counter-order arrived, and the British officer again landed. Having reinstated himself, he held his command for a month longer, when a final order authorized him to withdraw. Linois, in the mean time, sailed for India with a small squadron and six thousand troops, to garrison Mahé and Pondicherry, agreeably to the treaty. This last appears to have been the only fortified place not resigned to the enemy, and its detention was owing to the fortunate presence of mind of Admiral Rainier, in conjunction with the government of Madras.

On the 25th of May, General Mortier summoned the whole Hanoverian electorate to surrender to his army; and the French obtained entire possession of that country, and the command of the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems. British commerce being thus excluded from them, the blockade was commenced, and our frigates and sloops took their station for that purpose off Heligoland; a small, high, and conspicuous island, placed, it would seem, by nature as a beacon at the entrance of those dangerous rivers, amidst the most appalling labyrinth of shoals and quicksands. On this island a noble light was kept burning; the expenses of which were defrayed by the commerce of the rivers. The little town was the habitation of a strong, daring, and laborious race of

men, devoted to the business of pilotage, but whose skill or fidelity was not always to be relied on; and we much fear that valuable ships have been at times run purposely on shore, for the chance of plunder. The detention of Malta by the British government, was pleaded by Bonaparte as a justification for his entry into Hanover, and as sufficient cause for his taking possession of Tarentum, and of all the strong ports of the kingdom of Naples in the Adriatic.

Such, however, was our state of preparation, that the enemy was unable to gain any advantage, and we were soon enabled to carry the war to the shores of France. Admiral Cornwallis had the command of the Channel fleet, and had been some days off Ushant before the first shot was fired by the Doris. He immediately, with ten sail of the line, commenced the blockade of Brest. Lord Keith had the command of the North Seas, extending from Shetland and Norway to Havre de Grace, with about nine sail of the line. Sir James Saumarez commanded the advance post of Guernsey, where he kept a vigilant look out on the flotilla of gun-boats, from St. Maloes to Cherbourg. Sir Richard Bickerton was in the Mediterranean, with about eleven sail of the line, where he was soon after joined and succeeded by Lord Nelson. Admiral Rainier still continued in India with four sail of the line. Sir John Duckworth was at Jamaica with five sail of the line. Commodore Samuel Hood at Barbadoes with one ship of the line.

It has been stated, on the authority of the minister, that we had thirty-two ships of the line in commission; he might have said forty fit for sea. Of frigates and smaller vessels we had an abundant supply; and although the Earl of St. Vincent has been accused by party-writers of having stripped our dock-yards, it will be seen by the memoirs of Mr. Derrick, p. 216, that we had naval stores in each of our arsenals to the following amount:—

At Deptford	£308,093
Woolwich	600,656
Chatham	423,697
Sheerness	99,400
Portsmouth	567,243
Plymouth	611,819

Acts of hostility quickly followed the orders to detain, and bring in provisionally, "all French vessels." On the 18th of May, only two days after the message from the throne, Captain Pearson, in the Doris of thirty-six guns, captured a French national lugger, called the Affronteur, of fourteen long nine pounders, and ninety-two men. This vessel engaged the Doris in a running fight, until the French captain and eight of his men were killed, and fourteen wounded.

On the 28th of May, Captain Mansfield in the Minotaur, captured La Franchise of thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, and manned with a short complement of one hundred and eighty-seven men. She was from Port au Prince.

On the 28th of May, Captain S. Sutton, on his

passage to Gibraltar in the Victory, fell in with, and captured, L'Ambuscade, French frigate (formerly in the British navy), commanded by Mons. Ferdin.

On the 25th of June, the Endymion of forty-four guns, Captain Charles Paget, in lat. 47° 10′ N. lon. 20° W. fell in with, and, after a chase of eight hours, captured the Bacchante, French corvette of twenty guns, and one hundred men, commanded by M. Perimel, from St. Domingo bound to Brest.

Captain Wallis of the Naiad captured the Impatiente, a French corvette of twenty guns.

In the month of June, Captain Maitland, while cruising in the Loire of thirty-eight guns, on the coast of France, near the isle of Bas, sent his boats, under the command of Lieutenants Temple and Bowen, who most gallantly boarded a French brig of war, called the Venteux, of ten guns, long eighteen pounders, and thirty-two pound carronades, with eighty-two men. She was perfectly prepared, lying under the protection of the batteries; and the success of the enterprise reflected the highest honour on all concerned. The Lieutenants were promoted to the rank of commanders, and Mr. Philip Henry Bridges, a young midshipman of great promise, was advanced to the rank of lieutenant.

Sir James Saumarez at Guernsey, had the Minerve of thirty-eight guns, with some other vessels, under his orders. That frigate, commanded by Captain Bullen (who was acting during the

illness of Captain Brenton), captured a very valuable convoy of vessels, loaded with naval stores, and brought them safe to Spithead. Captain Brenton rejoined his ship, and proceeded to his station, watching a flotilla in Cherbourg.

At daylight, on the 2nd of July, a detachment of French gun-vessels was seen close under the land, steering for Barfleur, which they reached, notwithstanding every effort made by the Topaze and Minerve to prevent it. The former returned to her station off Havre; and in the evening the Minerve, running close in with Cherbourg in a thick fog, mistook Fort de la Liberté for Peleé; and a number of vessels being seen to the eastward, the pilot assured the captain he might run amongst them without hesitation. The helm was accordingly put up for the purpose, when just as the ship was about to open her fire, she grounded, and the fog at the same time dispersing, discovered her to be in a very perilous situation. She was on the western Cone Head, about six furlongs from Fort de la Liberté, of seventy guns and fifteen mortars; and one mile from the isle Peleé, of one hundred guns and twenty-five mortars, from both of which a fire almost immediately opened. This happened about nine o'clock in the evening. Captain Brenton, aware that strong and decided measures were necessary, and that the launch of a frigate was not calculated to carry out a bower anchor, immediately despatched his boats armed, to cut out a vessel from under the bat-

teries, of sufficient capacity for the purpose; whilst the launch, with her carronade, should be employed in diverting the fire of two gun-brigs, lying in such a position ahead of the Minerve, as to annoy her greatly by a raking fire. The yawl, being the first boat in the water, was sent under the orders of the Honourable Lieutenant William Walpole, and the other boats were directed to follow as soon as ready: but the gallant officer,* to whom the enterprise was intrusted, found his own boat sufficient. He proceeded under a heavy fire of round, grape, and musketry, and from her position close to the batteries, cut out a lugger of fifty tons, laden with stone for the works, and towed her off to the ship. Before the bower anchor could be placed in this vessel, it was necessary to clear her of her cargo, and that this might be done, without adding to the shoal on which the ship lay, she was veered astern by the ebb tide to the length of a hawser. Unfortunately, the moon shone with great brightness. The enemy's fire became very galling; the more so, as no return could be made but from the two forecastle guns, those of the main deck having been all run close forward, for the purpose of lightening the ship abaft, where she hung. At eleven P. M. the lugger being cleared, was brought under the larboard cathead, to receive the small bower anchor, and during this operation, was so frequently struck

* Brother of the present Earl of Orford;—died a post-captain.

from the gun-brigs, as to keep a carpenter constantly employed in stopping the shot-holes. By midnight all was ready; a kedge anchor had been previously laid out for the purpose of warping the lugger, but the moment the hawser became taut, it was shot away. Every thing now depended upon the boats, which were sent to take the lugger in tow, and succeeded, under a severe fire, in gaining their object, and the anchor was let go in a proper position. At three o'clock in the morning, the wind had entirely subsided, and the Captain almost hopeless of being able to save the ship, contemplated the probable necessity of being obliged to abandon her. With this view he caused the wounded men to be brought up and put into the lugger, destroyed his private signals, and prepared fires in the store-rooms, to be lighted at the last extremity. A fine breeze, however, springing up from the land, as the tide rose, revived the hope of saving the ship, and the wounded men were returned to the cockpit. The lugger's masts were soon after shot away by the guns of the batteries, over the gangway of the Minerve. At four, the capstan was manned, and many of the crew were killed and wounded as they hove at the bars. At five, the ship floated, under the most heartfelt cheers of the crew. It was considered as a certainty, that in the course of two or three minutes they would be out of gun-shot of the batteries, and consequently out of danger; but this pleasing prospect soon vanished. The wind again declined

into a perfect calm, and the last drain of the flood tide carried the now helpless ship into the harbour, and laid her upon a broken cone. In this situation she remained till the top of high water, when she surrendered, after sustaining the fire of the enemy for ten hours, and having eleven men killed and sixteen wounded.

Such was the state of her masts, that had there been a moderate breeze, they must have gone by the board. She was lightened in the course of the day by the French, and got off. The capture of so fine a frigate at the commencement of the war, occasioned great triumph, and was announced in the theatre at Brussels, by Bonaparte in person; who, addressing the audience, stated the circumstance in the following terms: "La guerre vient de commencer sous les plus heureuse auspices, une superbe frégate de l'ennemi vient de se rendre à deux de nos chaloupes Cannonieres." The ship was called the "Cannoniere," in order to support this despicable falsehood.

Captain Brenton was detained a prisoner in France for two years and a half; many of his officers and men died in captivity. The greater part suffering a barbarous imprisonment of eleven years, were not released till the tyrant was defeated on the plains of Leipsic, in 1814. A British sailor, who had both his legs shot off while the Minerve lay under the fire of the batteries, was carried to the cockpit. Waiting for his turn to be dressed, he heard the cheers of the crew on

deck, and eagerly demanded what they meant. Being told that the ship was off the shoal, and would soon be clear of the forts; "Then d—n the legs!" exclaimed the poor fellow, and taking his knife from his pocket, he cut the remaining muscles which attached them to him, and joined in the cheers with the rest of his comrades. When the ship was taken, he was placed in the boat to be conveyed to the hospital; but determined not to outlive the loss of liberty, he slacked his tourniquets, and bled to death.

On the return of Captain Brenton to England, in January, 1806, being tried by a court-martial at Portsmouth, he was most honourably acquitted, and immediately appointed to the Spartan, a new frigate of the largest class, in which he was sent to the Mediterranean. The capture of the Minerve, and the subsequent treatment of her officers and men in captivity, form a distinct subject; shewing the rancorous hatred of the Chief Consul and his agents to any thing connected with England.

An able French writer, Monsieur Dupin, has attempted to throw the whole odium of the aggravated sufferings of the prisoners on the cruel policy of the government of this country.

He says,* "There exist in Europe two rival nations for military fame, and the triumphs with which they have been crowned; but very differently celebrated for the use which they have

* Voyages dans Le Grande Bretagne, vol. i. p. 160.

made of victory. France has never taken a captive, of *whom she has not made a friend;* England, on the contrary, has never taken a prisoner, whom she has not, by outrage and ill treatment, converted to the most implacable enemy.

"The prisoners taken by France, on quitting a country, the *friend of humanity*, have celebrated in every region the kindness and generosity of their conquerors (p. 162); but the prisoners taken by England, have quitted the jails and the pontons, only to fill the *two worlds* with cries of vengeance and indignation."

To our treatment of prisoners of war, he attributes the hostility manifested against us since 1814, by Russia, Spain, Portugal, America, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Saxons, Neapolitans, Genoese, the Septinsular Greeks, and even the Venetians. The reader need scarcely be told that of all this catalogue of nations, the French, and the Dutch, their free and faithful allies, were alone subjected to confinement beyond the time necessarily occupied in arranging an exchange of prisoners; and that even the sick, the aged, or the infirm, as soon as they were known to be so, were gratuitously and kindly sent over to their native country, without any conditions whatever. Let us bear this fact in mind, and contrast it with the instance of the blind sailor which we shall hereafter relate.

"It is impossible to suppose," says Monsieur Dupin, "that the English government had ever

conceived the horrible idea of destroying the health and constitution of their prisoners of war, *even of the French*, by subjecting them to privations and treatment calculated to overwhelm and exhaust nature." This shameful charge which he makes in the most direct manner, he affects not to believe, but adds, "that by our treatment of these unfortunate people, the British government shewed itself as deaf to the voice of pity as to the counsels of a wise philanthropy." Lamenting that gentlemen of independent fortune were not appointed by the British government, inspectors of the depots of French prisoners, he forgets that that office was undertaken gratuitously in France by British officers, who even spared a portion of their own pittance to alleviate the bitter and unexampled sufferings of their countrymen, and that Napoleon himself rejected our proposal of appointing inspectors. See *Precis*, vol. xi. p. 204.

He forgets that the kind interference of British officers was checked, and finally forbidden, by *his* government, when it found that the sufferings which our men had endured had been alleviated by their countrymen; and that in consequence, they had no longer any temptation to enlist in the French army or navy. He forgets that there is a wide difference between the ponton fitted for the reception of prisoners, and a hulk for the confinement of convicts. He does not know, that our sailors and soldiers would gladly have exchanged

the roofless churches, bullock's liver, rotten straw, and wet pavement, for pontons like ours, where surgeons attended the sick, and every comfort was provided for them. The complaint of the privation of fresh air during the long winter nights, is absurd; since it depended on the prisoners themselves to open the ports. Those, however, who know the French, know that they are not very scrupulous in the articles of ventilation and cleanliness; and that but for the vigilance and strict habits of British officers, the French prisoners would have *rotted* in their own filth.

The confinement to the ships was unavoidable; and the sufferings of the prisoners were aggravated by their incorrigible love of gaming, and every vice degrading to our nature. The French prisoners were ingenious mechanics, and sold some of the most beautiful articles that can be manufactured of ivory and bone, of straw and of wood; but the intercourse between them and the English was interdicted, not because they injured our manufactures, but because they inundated our country with every incentive to vices of the most detestable nature.—See *Quarterly Review*, No. 43. *Nov.* 1819.

We were in the habit, during the war, of visiting the depots of prisoners at the different seaports, and can say with confidence, that they were rendered, by the care of the officers who had charge of them, as comfortable in every respect as circumstances would admit.

Ever willing to do justice to the virtues of our enemies, we are happy to relate some among numerous acts of kindness and hospitality, shewn by individuals to our unfortunate countrymen while in captivity.

The moment the Minerve was taken, Captain Brenton was ordered to prepare for a march into the interior. He had no means of procuring money for bills, either for himself or his officers, and was obliged to offer his watch for sale, but the sum tendered was too small to be accepted; at length a stranger appeared, and demanded to see the watch; he did not want to purchase it he said, but offered to receive it as a pledge for the sum of twenty-five louis. The offer was thankfully accepted, and the stranger went away, but soon after returned, exclaiming,* "Monsieur, ma conscience me pique, Je suis indigné de la caution, qui m'a fait prendre une gage d'un brave officer, essuyant le sort de la guerre!! here take your watch, and give me a note of hand for the money!!" This being arranged, the stranger departed a second time, and again returned, observing that his conscience still troubled him; and "I have been considering," said he, "how I can best relieve it. I am, Sir, a merchant of L'Orient, my name is Dubois; I am returning home, and having examined my purse, I find I have just

* "Sir, my conscience wounds me; I am shocked at the unworthy caution of taking a pledge from a brave officer, suffering the fortune of war."

twenty-five louis more than I shall require for my journey; here," said he, as he destroyed the first note of hand, "add them to the others, and give me a note for the whole!!" On such an incident it would be superfluous to comment: we mention it as a tribute of gratitude to the generous Dubois; and sincerely hope, that such an example, in future wars, will find many imitators on both sides of the water.

The house of Peregaux, the banker at Paris, shewed equal readiness in relieving the wants of the prisoners. They sent a clerk to meet Captain Brenton at St. Denis, with three hundred louis, and an order for four hundred more, on his arrival at the place of his destination; promising at the same time, that any bills drawn by the Captain, should be immediately honoured.

When the prisoners marched through St. Lo, the General Delgorgue paid them the kindest attention; extended his hospitality to as many of the officers as his table would hold. The others, with the young gentlemen, were billetted amongst the inhabitants, who, we believe, *without any exception*, made a point of calling their relatives together, and making a feast, as far as their means would go, for the prisoner who had become their inmate; and in no case would any of them, although bourgeois or shopkeepers, receive the smallest remuneration.

Many other instances of kindness and attention were shewn to the sufferers, as they passed on

their weary and painful journeys; but they were all from individuals, and performed in stealth, and under the greatest apprehension of being discovered by the official members of the departments, whom the affair at St. Lo had displeased.

It is highly desirable that these instances of individual kindness and benevolence should be known, and cherished in the recollection of every Englishman; and in doing this, we must at the same time acknowledge, that the spirit of humanity and charity has not been confined to one side of the channel. Out of the thousands of French prisoners who have passed a long captivity in England, numbers might confess that they also have found kind friends amongst their political enemies, with the most genuine and sincere hospitality; one instance has come to our own knowledge. When Captain (now Sir Benjamin) Hallowell, commanded the Tigre, and arrived at Gibraltar, he found the captain of a French line of battle ship, who had been taken at the battle of Trafalgar. This officer had, we believe, been in the squadron of Gantheaume, when the Swiftsure, commanded by Captain Hallowell, was taken. As soon as Captain H. heard of his situation, he sent off a trunk containing every necessary article of wearing apparel, procured at a great expense at Gibraltar, with a letter to the French officer, apologizing for the liberty he had taken; saying, that he concluded there might be a difficulty in his obtaining articles for himself during the very

short stay he was to make at Gibraltar, as the prisoners were expected to sail immediately for England. He enclosed also a draft on his agent for 100*l.*; begging him to use it until he could obtain his remittances.

We will readily admit, that acts of the purest and most disinterested benevolence in private life have been equal in each country. We know the conduct of the British government towards the French; let us take a short view of the treatment of our unfortunate countrymen in France, by Bonaparte and his agents. The first class of these sufferers were English families, consisting of all ages, sexes, and conditions; the young and vigorous, the old and infirm, or the valetudinarian, travelling to a milder climate in search of health. These, under the promises of Talleyrand, consented to remain in France pending certain discussions; but no sooner was the order issued for the detention of French vessels, than the English in France were placed under the inspection of the police, and finally subjected to every species of fraud, oppression, violence, and cruelty that the mind of malice could invent. Delicate women in a state of pregnancy, sick and helpless children, were compelled, in the dead of winter, to travel from Epinal to Verdun, at their own expense; or to make their journey on foot, goaded and harassed by the brutal gens d'armes, and robbed at the auberges by the unfeeling landlords. If they survived their sufferings, and

arrived at the place of their confinement, they were not permitted to quit the town beyond a certain distance, without paying an enormous fine to the French general, or allowing themselves to be cheated of a certain sum at cards by his vulgar wife.

When the first detachment of the crew of the Minerve reached the depot at Epinal, the officers were permitted to take lodgings in the town. The seamen, confined in an old convent, were allowed three sols a-day, a pound and a half of bread, and sixteen pounds of straw, in lieu of bedding, once a fortnight, to each man. As they were destitute of clothes, blankets, shoes, and hats, and had performed a march of five hundred miles, their deplorable state may readily be conceived. The incessant applications of Captain Brenton to the general commanding the district, for some relief to his men, were unavailing.

In the month of September, the weather became excessively cold, and the people suffered greatly. The straw, in a few days, became a dung heap; and to reiterated representations, the only answer was, that the blankets were daily expected: *that they were to be sent from Lisle, having been left by the army when on service in that quarter; and that orders had been given for their being* MENDED *and forwarded to Epinal, for the use of the prisoners.* When we consider how long a time had elapsed from the period when the army was in Flanders, the state of that army, particularly

the inveterate itch they had been subject to, much could not be expected from this source of supply. Accordingly, when the blankets did arrive, which was not till the end of October, they were found to be of the most wretched description.

In the mean time, no measures were taken by the government to provide a temporary relief for their prisoners. The officers of the Minerve, with a few of the masters of merchant vessels, formed a small fund by subscription, with which a quantity of old tapestry was purchased from the walls of the ruined chateaux in the neighbourhood, and distributed amongst the seamen; this, for several weeks, was their only covering.

Every morning, after the distribution of bread, and three sous to each man, privileged suttlers, with the very worst description of ardent spirits, and a quantity of offal meat, generally bullock's liver, were allowed to enter the prison, and the three sous were laid out by the prisoner in the purchase of a poisonous dram, and a morsel of the meat; the bread being his only subsistence for the remainder of the twenty-four hours.

At the request of the Captain, this sum was at length paid to a person appointed to receive it in a mass, and with the addition of a weekly subscription from the officers, laid out by a committee of the prisoners, for the purchase of meat and vegetables; by which means their fare was considerably improved.

Early in November, the prisoners were ordered to march to the little fortress of Phalsbourg, in the Vosges mountains. The weather had now become very severe, and we believe, though we cannot positively say, that no clothes had been given to the prisoners. Some *wooden shoes* were served out; but these could be of no use on the march; although it was strongly recommended to the prisoners to make use of them at the depot, as greatly tending to preserve their health.

On the day of their departure from Epinal, they reached ——; it rained very hard, and was excessively cold. The place appointed for the lodging of the prisoners was a ruined church, wanting a great part of the roof and windows. In this building a quantity of straw was thrown down on the broken pavement, which in a few minutes was trodden into manure by the prisoners. The suttlers besieged the gate, and the day's pay was soon transferred to their pockets. At the representation, however, of Captain Brenton, the money for the next day was given to him, and with a farther sum subscribed as before by the officers, sent on to the next stage, Luneville, where a comfortable hot meal was provided against their arrival.

The prisoners reached Phalsbourg in the most deplorable state of suffering from fatigue, sore feet, and colds. Provision was made for the sick in the military hospital, but for the others, none beyond the wretched barrack and the portion of

straw. The mayor, Monsieur Parmentier, at his own risk, most kindly ordered nearly the half of them into the hospital, not confining the admission to those who were actually in a state of disease, but wishing to extend the comforts of food and bedding to as many as the building would hold; and to which we gladly allude as another act of private benevolence.

In about ten days after the prisoners reached Phalsbourg, an order arrived for them to countermarch as far as Luneville, and proceed from thence to Givet in the Ardennes, through Nanci and Verdun. What might have been the consequences of such a march, at such a period of the year (December), so totally unprovided as they then were with the necessaries of life, it is impossible to say; but a letter from the admiralty in England, most providentially reached Captain Brenton on the day the order for the removal arrived, empowering him to draw for 2000*l.* sterling, for the use of the prisoners. The French government, in giving the order for their removal, allowed the prisoners only their rations of bread for four days, and they were informed that they must march to Nanci, before they could receive the daily pay of three sous, which was intended to provide the remainder of their nourishment. Fortunately, the paternal care of their own government prevented their feeling that distress which they must otherwise have suffered.

On the 17th December they reached Verdun,

and having each received a supply of clothes and money, departed on the 19th for Givet, unaccompanied by their officers, who remained on parole at Verdun.

Shortly after their arrival there, Captain Brenton received a letter, stating that their distress and suffering had become intolerable. He immediately waited upon the general, expressed his wish to visit the prisoners, in order to distribute succours furnished by England, received permission, and set out for Givet under the escort of a gen d'arme. He found the prisoners confined in Charlemont, the greater part of them in rags, having, either from distress or improvidence, sold the clothes they had received, without any farther supply from the French government. The old system of the three sous and the privileged suttlers was renewed, under every possible aggravation. Captain Brenton was at the same time informed, that it was intended to remove the prisoners to the barracks at Givet, on the banks of the Meuse: he immediately visited those barracks, and received from the commandant every information, and every kindness, which, as an *individual*, it was in his power to bestow; he was allowed to distribute the prisoners into messes, as he thought proper, and to assign them rooms for their residence, provided the number corresponded with the official regulations; but this was all M. Parmentier could grant, for the arrangements of his government went no farther. The

prison allowance remained the same. The supply of clothing and bedding underwent no alteration. The prisoners received their portions of straw from the French government, and found their own canvas sackings to put it in, so as to preserve it, and form a bed; bedsteads were hired, kettles also for cooking their provisions, and a proportion of firewood furnished out of the remittance sent from England. Blankets and clothes were supplied from the same fund; and four sols per day added to the French allowance, to each prisoner: those belonging to his Majesty's ships and packets received six sols, the additional two being considered as an advance upon the pay due to them.

With this assistance, and under the superintendence and management of *their own officers*, they certainly did live not only with comfort, but with great respectability. Scarcely a desertion was known, except amongst the lower class of Irish, who had been disaffected in their own country, and were easily tempted to betray their companions in misfortune, by involving them in plans for escape, and then denouncing them. This system continued nearly two years, when the French government *prohibited any farther remittances from that of England to the prisoners;* the consequences were immediate distress and misery, constant attempts to escape, and a few instances even of the men volunteering into the enemy's service. Nothing, certainly, can excuse

this base desertion of their country, though due allowance must be made for severity of suffering acting on an uncultivated mind.

The aged and infirm, as well as boys under fourteen, had been allowed on the first establishment of Verdun as a depot, to remain there under the care of the officers; a situation of great advantage to them: many of the superior class of detenues being men of property and great benevolence, supplied their wants, and afforded them comforts which they could not otherwise have obtained. A school was formed for the children, who, to the number of seventy, were instructed and clothed by subscription. In the course of a few months, this indulgence which had been granted was annulled, and *the old, the young*, and *the infirm, were distributed* amongst the distant depots.

About this period (late in 1805), or soon after, a prisoner arrived under circumstances of peculiar distress. His name was Anderson, he had been one of the gunner's crew of the Royal Sovereign, then bearing the flag of Lord Collingwood. Having lost both his eyes in the course of his services, his Lordship applied for the unfortunate man's admission into Greenwich, which was of course granted. On his way home in a merchant-vessel he was taken by a French privateer, and carried into Morlaix, whence he was conveyed with others from prison to prison, by succeeding brigades of gens d'armes, till he reached

Verdun. Here Captain Brenton stated his case to General Wirion, and even that rapacious man owned the cruelty of the proceeding, and consented, while he suspended the march of the captive, to forward a petition in his favour to Paris. The answer was as follows:—"On n' accorde pas la petition de Monsieur Brenton, que son aveugle file avec les autres."* Where has M. Dupin found any instance of barbarity equal to this? Has he not, on the contrary, owned, vol. i. p. 177, that our government gratuitously sent over to France twelve thousand, seven hundred and eighty-seven "moribonds."† If the miseries of our countrymen, while prisoners, were somewhat alleviated during the first and second years of the war, it was owing to the humanity of our government, and the public spirit, and kindness of the English officers and private gentlemen detained at Verdun: but this source of comfort was inhumanly cut off, and the wretched victims left to perish with hunger and cold, or become traitors to their country.

When Mr. M'Kenzie was ordered over to effect an exchange, he was informed, that the Portuguese prisoners taken by France must be received by us as Englishmen: this extravagant demand was of course rejected, upon which the negotiation was broken off.

* "The petition of M. Brenton is refused. Let his blind man march along with the others."

† "Dying men."

"*Les nations indignées,*" says Dupin, "have a right to demand by what right Great Britain treated her prisoners in a manner only known among barbarous and uncivilized nations?" To which we reply, that the confinement of those people was an act to which we were impelled by Napoleon himself; and that every human effort was resorted to, on our part, but in vain, to procure an exchange of prisoners. Not only the sick, but officers in perfect health, were sent over to France, with the most amicable and honourable proposals to the government. Captain Jurieu, of the Franchise, in 1803, went on his parole to procure the exchange of Captain Brenton, under a promise to return, should he not effect his purpose. The gallant Frenchman, faithful to his word, unable to procure the release of the British captain, was preparing to return to England, when he was ordered to Brest, and officially informed by his government, that he should be shot if he attempted to go back. He, however, never accepted of service, and wrote three years afterward to Captain Brenton, stating these facts, and requesting he would still use his influence to effect the exchange.

Let us observe what Napoleon himself says on this subject in a letter to Decrees, dated Coblentz, 19th September, 1804. *Precis*, vol. xi. p. 203.

We have our customs, the English theirs; we have always maintained our prisoners, and I shall make no alteration in that respect. It is my intention to clothe the English prisoners, be-

cause they are in my power, and because generosity and the laws of nations require that they should have whatever is necessary. Let the English do the same. * * * * I desire then that the English prisoners shall cost nothing to their government, and that such as they may have of mine, may be treated in the same manner. I approve of the answer which you propose making for Captain Jurieu. As to the proposal of sending agents to superintend the prisoners on either side, *let it be understood that the question has not been submitted to the emperor*, but to the minister, who thinks the emperor would not object to an arrangement so consonant with the rights of nations, as soon as he knows who the person is that the English propose sending.

Here is a transparent veil of falsehood and subterfuge to conceal injustice and cruelty.

It only remains to make a few observations on the prison-ships, which, with real or pretended philanthropy, are described by Dupin, as "hideous old carcasses, having the appearance of ships blackened by a recent conflagration; floating tombs, in which prisoners of war were buried alive; in which a greater number of men were confined, than the war complement of the ship would have admitted." P. 181, he says, we had twenty-one floating prisons or hulks, from first rates to fifties (the war complement of the former is eight hundred and fifty, and of the latter four hundred); and that we had on board of them eleven thousand, two hundred and forty-nine prisoners.—This would give on an average about five hundred and thirty-one to each ship, and as the generality of them were first, second, and third rates, the numbers could in no instance have been so great as what are usually found on board

of our cruising ships, which for weeks together are unable to open a lower-deck port. Add to this, that a prison-ship, having neither guns, seamen's chests, cables, stores, or other lumber on board, can afford double the space to a prisoner, which is commonly allotted to an Englishman. That their cleanliness and ventilation were well attended to, we know. They were commanded in general by officers of character, and inspected by captains, with the proper medical officers; a fact, which is proved by the selection and release of the sick: and that they had a proper allowance of wholesome food we can vouch, having seen it dressed and prepared for them. If we grant that the expense of keeping them on board these ships, might be greater than that of the "casernes;" still this is a question for us to consider, and not the French, who had refused to receive them upon honourable terms. If M. Dupin attempts to justify the conduct of France, by our early and unexpected declaration of war on the 16th May, we shall remind him, that Bonaparte commenced hostilities in December, 1802; or, more properly speaking, never ceased them during the peace of Amiens, and never intended they should cease, until England became a province of France.

In the "Voice from St. Helena," there is a whining complaint against our pontons, of cruelty towards the prisoners, and a thousand other enormities, which never existed but in the brain of their author. Why, if Napoleon was so kind and

tender-hearted a being, did he permit his men to "rot in these floating dungeons," when their release depended on himself. Why did he not increase their allowance of food, as we did that of our men, when it was found insufficient? The reason is simple and plain; Bonaparte knew that by keeping these unhappy men in England, he should subject the British government to many inconveniences. First, by the number of troops appointed to guard them; secondly, by the charge of their maintenance; thirdly, the making us unpopular in France, by their reports when they should be released; fourthly, by the hopeless duration of confinement, he expected to render his men more desperate in action; and lastly, in case of invasion, which he certainly meditated, they might, to the number of fifty thousand, have been at once turned loose upon us, ready to take up arms.

Such were, no doubt, some of the reasons of Napoleon for his cruel and relentless policy; the defence set up for him by his apologists, is weak and frivolous. We are far from exulting over the mortifications and the sorrows which accompanied him in his distant exile, and gladly would we have seen them alleviated. We have nothing to do with the conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe, or the assertions of Mr. O'Meara; let us profit by the awful lesson of fallen grandeur and retributive justice. "Vengeance, though slow, is sure; it comes with leaden feet, but strikes with iron hands." He that refused to open the door of

the prison-house, who had no pity for the hapless parent or husband, debarred by his malice or caprice from the society of those most dear to them, was himself, by the inscrutable decrees of Providence, taught to feel in hopeless anguish, and total separation from those he loved, the horrors of insurmountable confinement.

Wirion, the commandant of Verdun, after a number of years spent in the practice of every act of oppression over the English detenues, which his cruelty or his avarice suggested, at last, being summoned to Paris, to give an account of his stewardship, died by his own hand, unable to meet the frowns of his master.

We honour M. Dupin for the humanity of his sentiments, we agree with him as to the cruelty of confining prisoners of war like felons; but we wish he would point out in what way we are to secure them, more compatibly with our own safety. Heaven grant, should we have future wars, that the laws of nations may be respected, and the captives taken by either party treated with the kindest hospitality, and safely and speedily conveyed to their own country. But let it never be believed, that Great Britain has in any instance, in the care of her prisoners, exceeded a just degree of vigilance and caution.

We shall conclude this chapter with a letter from the first lord of the admiralty to the transport board, which will afford a comparison much to the advantage of the British government.

Rochetts, 2nd November, 1803.

GENTLEMEN,

The very great attention you have shewn to the French General Morgan, did, in my judgment, merit a better return than an invidious comparison of the treatment of the prisoners in the two countries. It is notorious that Captain Brenton,* his officers and men, were marched into the interior of France, many hundred miles from the spot they were first confined in, with very little aid from the French government, at a grievous expense to the parties. I am persuaded, however, this act will not operate in your minds to the prejudice of General Morgan and his suite, of whom Captain Bayntun† has given a very favourable description, such as to entitle them to any attentions in your power to afford, consistently with the measures you are directed to carry into execution.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

Commissioners of Transport Board.

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* Now Sir Jahleel Brenton, Bart. K. C. B.

† Now Rear-admiral Sir Henry William Bayntun, K. C. B. at that time captain of his Majesty's ship the Cumberland.

CHAP. VII.

Invasion threatened by Bonaparte—Means taken to counteract him—Description of vessels for that purpose—Jalouse and Cruiser—Blockade of the Texel—Capture of the Atalante by Captains Hardinge and Pelly—Humanity of Admiral Thornborough—Violation of the law of nations by detention of a flag of truce—Sir Sidney Smith attacks enemy's flotilla—Manner of these vessels getting along shore—Attacked by Captain Owen in the Immortalité—Bombardment of Havre de Grace—Marine artillery—Bombardment of Dieppe, St. Valery, and Calais—Reflections—The enemy's flotilla puts to sea in divisions—Attacked by Leda—Cruisers—Observations on the improved art of war—Of fire-ships—Flotilla before Boulogne—Catamarins—Clock machines—Useless attack—Stone ships—Loss of the Romney—Letter of Vice-admiral Russell to Admiral Kickhurt—Honeyman in the Leda takes nine sail of flotilla—Bonaparte abandons all thought of invasion; on hearing of Villeneuve's return to Ferrol—Observations.

THE panic of invasion had so forcibly seized the imaginations of many people, that the expectation of the event had in some degree the effect of its accomplishment. Government, willing to tranquillize the public mind, availed itself of every species of force to repel the threatened aggression. Every old hulk that could be fitted to bear a gun, was immediately brought forward under the name of block-ships. Some were placed in the river Thames, as high as Gravesend; others down the Swin channel off Harwich, or in Hosely-bay; some were stationed off Margate. Colliers and other stout north country built ships, were pur-

chased into the service; new decks were laid in them, and ports cut to carry heavy guns. These vessels were at first intended to guard our own coast, but soon after were sent over to annoy the enemy, though with few of those qualities that could render them efficient for such a purpose; so that the officers commanding them had sometimes the mortification of seeing their countrymen taken prisoners, without the possibility of affording them relief; and not unfrequently to contend against a lee-shore, with a vessel that never could be impelled to windward by any art or seamanship. Such were the bomb-vessels, Sulphur, Hecla, Tartarus, and Prospero, and the sloops of war, Merlin, Autumn, Falcon, and Woolverine. There were many others, but we name these as specimens of the whole set. They were, however, not idle or totally useless, but intercepted the trade of the enemy, and made many valuable captures and recaptures. The orders given to the cruisers, in case of falling in with the invading flotilla, were to disable them as much as possible, and leave them to their fate.

By a decree of Bonaparte, dated March 31st, the town and fortress of Flushing were declared to be in a state of siege; the general of brigade, Monet, was ordered to conduct the operations.

In the month of June, the Jalouse and Cruiser, two brigs of war, chased and drove on shore, near Cape Groznez, a brig and a schooner. Commodore Owen, in the Immortalité, being present,

made the signal to close with the enemy, which was done in so gallant and effectual a manner, as to compel the Frenchmen to jump overboard, and escape to the beach; whence a heavy fire of musketry was kept up; in spite of which, our brave fellows pushed in with their boats, boarded the vessels, and as the tide flowed, brought them off. They proved to be the national schooner Inabordable, and brig La Comode, each mounting four long twenty-four pounders, and intended for the purpose of invasion. Mr. Charles Adams, midshipman of the Jalouse, appears to have been the only person severely wounded.

On the 28th of this month, the Elbe and Weser were declared in a state of blockade by the British government.

While the Glatton lay as guard-ship in Aberlady bay, in the Frith of Forth, Lieutenant Thomas Mitchel, a young officer belonging to that ship, fancied that the forts near Dunbar were not so well guarded as they should be; and to prove his conjecture, went at night with one boat's crew, got into the battery, made the guard prisoners, and, it is said, hoisted the French flag. The real state of things was, however, soon discovered; the Lieutenant put under an arrest, and severely reprimanded in public orders, as having committed an act, tending to disturb the harmony subsisting between the army and navy. The act itself we cannot defend, and we believe the youth would rather it had been an enemy's redoubt;

but the imprudent enterprise, by causing a more vigilant attention to the posts along the sea-shore, was not without its advantages.

Lord Keith, who in 1804 commanded in the North Seas, usually had under his orders from ten to fifteen sail of the line, including sixty-fours, and from thirty to forty frigates; but as this number constantly varied from the exigences of the service, it is impossible to fix with any degree of exactness, the precise force employed in the North Seas at any particular time.

In 1803, we find the following list of large ships; to which, in 1804, were added the Defence and Eagle, of seventy-four guns, then off the Texel.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Monarch	74	Admiral Lord Keith Captain J. C. Seale
Princess of Orange (D.)	74	Rear-admiral T. M. Russel Captain J. Rogers
Ruby	64	Rear-admiral Thornborough Captain D. Colby
Hero	74	Honourable A. H. Gardner
Illustrious	74	Sir Charles Hamilton
Raisonable	64	W. Hotham
Ardent	64	R. Winthorp
Inflexible	64	T. Bayley
Monmouth	64	G. Hart
Ramillies	74	Francis Pickmore.

The most rigid blockade of the ports of the North Seas and the Channel, from Heligoland to Brest, began to make the ruler of France sensible of the difference between a naval and a military power. The Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, were almost useless to their owners; and at the

representation of the court of Denmark, his Britannic Majesty was pleased, in some degree, to relax the severity of his orders to the forces employed on that service.

A letter from the Earl of Harrowby to Count Wedel Jarlsberg, will shew to what extent it was in our power to cripple the commerce of our enemies.

Downing-street, July 18, 1804.

It having been a matter of considerable doubt, whether the request signified to me in several notes, which I have had the honour to receive from you, relative to a relaxation of the blockade of the river Elbe, in favour of the Gluckstadt whalefishers, could be complied with, without, in too great a degree, departing from a measure which his Majesty has thought it incumbent upon him to adopt, my answer to your notes on that subject has been unavoidably delayed.

I have now the satisfaction to acquaint you, that orders have been given, conformably to your request, to allow the Greenland ships, enumerated in the list enclosed in your note of the 19th June, to proceed to Gluckstadt, and that orders have also been given, to allow lighters, barges, and small crafts, coming within that description, and laden with innocent and neutral cargoes, to pass and repass along the Danish side of the Elbe, over the Shallows of Watten, between Tonningen and Hamburgh; a measure which will remove the obstruction of the coasting trade of Denmark, and prevent the recurrence of those complaints which this government, has lately not unfrequently received. His Majesty trusts, that his consenting to relax the blockade in these instances, will be considered by the Danish government as a proof of his wish to alleviate as much as possible, every unnecessary pressure on the commerce of his Danish Majesty's subjects, and that no improper use will be made of this indulgence, which may compel him to revert to all the strictness of the blockade.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HARROWBY.

To the Count of Wedel Jarlsberg,
(Minister of Denmark.)

Downing-street, July 18, 1804.

I have the honour to inform you, that due attention has been paid to the requests signified to me in several notes from you, on the part of the town of Bremen, that lighters might be allowed to navigate between the rivers Jade and Weser.

Orders have been given to his Majesty's ships employed in the blockade of the latter, to permit the passage of lighters (really coming within that description, and laden with innocent and neutral cargoes) to pass and repass over the Shallows, between Varel and Bremen. His Majesty trusts, that care will be taken, that this permission may not be abused, nor any advantage taken, which would compel him to revert to all the strictness of the blockade.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HARROWBY.

Mr. Groning, Deputy of Bremen.

The blockade of the Texel was reduced to a system on which our admirals acted with great success. The ports of Holland can admit of the ingress or egress of large ships only during the spring tides; two days before which, the British squadron regularly took its station off the Texel, and remained as many days after the full or change of the moon, so that the Dutch lost all the advantages of the high tides, their heavy ships being effectually detained within their harbours.

In April, 1804, the Captains Hardinge and Pelly, of the Scorpion and Beaver sloops of war, went with their boats into the Vlie passage, and cut out the Atalante, a Dutch brig of war, of sixteen long twelve pounders, and manned with seventy-six men. She was gallantly defended, and her captain, refusing quarter, fell on the deck of his vessel; which, though covered with board-

ing nettings, was carried in a short time. The British captains having been personally engaged, were both promoted to the rank of post; and Lieutenant Bluet, of the Scorpion, who was wounded, to that of commander. In this enterprise, there were but five people wounded on the side of the assailants; the Dutch had four killed, and eleven wounded.

The capture of the Atalante afforded Rear-admiral Thornborough, who commanded off the Texel, an opportunity of renewing an amicable intercourse with the Batavian government, by sending back the purser, and pilot, and the servant of the deceased captain with his master's private property. The generous act, in time, produced its effect; but the unhappy Dutch still groaned under the tyranny of France, whose armed vessels occupied her ports, and violated the laws of nations.

In 1803, Lieutenant Dillon having been sent in the barge of the Africaine, with a flag of truce into the Texel, was honourably received by the Dutch Admiral, and suffered to depart with an answer; but on his return to his ship, the gallant young officer was taken by the French guard-ship, and conducted a prisoner to Verdun.

In their attempts to get along shore, the enemy were often and indeed generally successful, though sometimes they met with loss and severe checks. They never moved without a favourable wind and tide, and on these occasions kept as close to the

shore as the depth of water would permit, and were always attended by a troop of flying artillery. On the near approach of our cruisers, they ran their vessels on shore, and the crews escaped; but the French soldiers frequently boarded the vessels again, and continued to fight the guns, while the artillery on the beach kept off the assailants. Many of these vessels were flat bottomed, and called praams; their guns, long thirty-two or twenty-four pounders; and as they remained in a steady horizontal position, while on shore, their batteries were very effective.

On the morning of the 16th of May, twenty-one sail hauled out of the pier of Ostend, and anchored in the roads; and at the same time fifty-one sail came out of Flushing; two of the latter were large praams or flat vessels, carrying heavy metal with a light draught of water. The Commodore immediately assembled his force, and prepared for action, the only obstacle to which was the shoal water, and the extreme caution required in conducting a ship of any draught among the intricate banks on that dangerous coast. He had with him the Penelope and L'Aimable frigates, Cruiser and Rattler sloops of war. Their captains, Broughton, Bolton, Hancock, and Mason, did all that bravery and perseverance could effect, to impede the course of the enemy to the westward: the sloops of war had of course the advantage of closing with them; and the Rattler and Cruiser

attached themselves to the two praams as being the largest vessels, while the frigates, and finally the Antelope, as soon as the depth of water would allow her, engaged the whole line, as well as the flying artillery which accompanied it along the shore.

The enemy suffered in some degree, but not in that proportion which a near observer might have been led to expect. The horse-artillery, the guns from the town of Ostend, and from the enemy's camp, reached our ships, but were disregarded. The most ardent pursuit was kept up for many hours; one of the praams struck her colours, and ran on shore, but was quickly filled with artillery-men, who worked her guns and defended her with great bravery. Several of the schuyts and schooners were also driven on shore, but recovered by the army. At eight o'clock the tide falling, obliged the British squadron to haul off into deeper water, and the enemy's vessels that were not aground, or too much shattered, were thus enabled to reach Ostend. Four of the smaller vessels were sunk, and one taken.

The ships and their commanders were as follow:—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Antelope	50	Sir W. S. Smith	2	1
Penelope	36	William Broughton	3	4
L'Aimable	32	William Bolton	6	14
Cruiser	18	John Hancock	1	4
Rattler	18	Francis Mason	2	5

The French account of this action differs so widely from that which we know to be the truth, that for once we will give a specimen of their official veracity. The names of the English ships or vessels said to have been dismasted are not given, and we need scarcely add, that no such circumstance occurred, nor in the whole of the letter is there one word of truth, except that the enemy came out, and returned into port, after a running fight, and a sound beating.

The Minister of the Marine and Colonies to his Majesty the Emperor of the French.

Parie, 29 Floreal, May 20, 1804.

SIRE,—I take the first opportunity of having the honour to lay before your Imperial Majesty, the accounts transmitted to me by Rear-admiral Verheul, commander-in-chief of the Batavian flotilla, and Rear-admiral Magon, commanding the right wing of the National flotilla. Rear-admiral Verheul sailed from Flushing on the 25th of Floreal (May 16), with nineteen gun-vessels, forty-seven Batavian gun-boats, and two French praams, La Ville d'Aix and La Ville d'Anvers. Scarcely was he under sail when contrary winds obliged him to anchor in a line, in the pass of the Scheldt called the Inner-Wielingen. On the 25th, at break of day, the Rear-admiral set sail with his flotilla, and gained the height of Heyst, when the wind having veered round to the south-west, he resolved to return to his first anchorage, running under a light sail in the line of battle. An English frigate and a cutter, which were very near, manœuvred to cut off the two gun-boats in the rear, and a boat of the convoy. The Rear-admiral seeing these vessels exposed, made the signal to tack in order to cover them; but before this movement had produced its effect, the boat of the convoy fell into the hands of the enemy. Rear-admiral Verheul, with that coolness and courage by which he is distinguished, quitted the line to engage the two English vessels; he made a signal for the whole flotilla to follow him. The loss of this boat was of little importance, but his ho-

nour was hurt by it. The battle for two hours was exceedingly hot; the *two vessels of the enemy were dismasted,* and sheered off. Your Majesty had given orders to Rear-admiral Verheul to proceed to Ostend: as the passage remained open, he proceeded to that port. Commodore Sir Sidney Smith having found means to collect his vessels, came up with the Gallo-Batavian flotilla at the distance of three leagues from Ostend. Our flotilla carried only a hundred guns. The English squadron, besides the advantage of large vessels, mounted *four hundred and ten pieces of cannon.* The contest was not equal: the English thought they were advancing to certain victory, the catastrophe they experienced was therefore more sensibly felt. After a contest of seven hours, they were obliged to abandon the field of battle. The Commodore's ship, the Antelope, pierced with shot, appeared to our sailors to be entirely shattered; an English frigate and a corvette were dismasted, and a brig was obliged to quit the line on the commencement of the action. There are strong reasons for supposing that it must have sunk in the Channel.

Two gun-boats which lagged behind were pursued by a frigate: they had sustained several broadsides, when Lieutenant Dutaillis, commanding the praam La Ville d'Anvers, tacked, and after maintaining a combat alongside for two hours with the frigate, was so fortunate as to bring down her mast, and to save the two boats.

Rear-admiral Verheul bestows great praise on the conduct of Lieutenant Dutaillis, and in particular on account of his able manœuvres. This brave officer, though severely wounded in the leg, never quitted his command for a moment during the action. The Rear-admiral is highly pleased also with Captain Brunet, the Batavian officers and crews, and the French troops who were on board. He accuses two of the commanders of the gun-boats, who did not discharge their duty, and he informs me that they will be tried for their conduct.

I must inform your Majesty, that at the time when the flotilla was most warmly engaged with the enemy, at the distance of a league and a half from Ostend, Rear-admiral Magon despatched, under the command of Captain Lambourg, twelve boats, which, by help of their oars, were able to get out of port, and did not hesitate to pass boldly within half a cannon shot of the Commodore's fire, and particularly of a ship of sixty guns, to give more speedy assistance to the boats in the rear.

Captain Meynne bore up to the Ville d'Aix, during the last two hours of the combat. This praam had two men killed, and thirteen wounded. The Ville d'Anvers had two killed, and sixteen wounded. The boats had two men killed, among whom was an officer, and six wounded. The Batavians had twelve men killed, and twenty-six wounded. Total of the men killed eighteen, six of whom belonged to the praams and boats. Total of the men wounded, sixty, of whom thirty-five belonged to the praams or boats.

Lieutenant Lebretonniere, Adjutant of Rear-admiral Magon, had been detached with despatches for Rear-admiral Verheul, near whom he remained during the whole engagement. This officer, who was the bearer of the account which I have the honour of laying before your Majesty, assures me, that two cannoneers of the light artillery were killed by his side. The enemy was roughly treated, and obliged to retire with considerable loss. Next day Admiral Verheul anchored in triumph in the great road at Ostend. Being desirous of still farther proving his victory, before he entered into port, he remained a day and a night, waiting for the enemy; and it was only when he saw the English squadron standing off, at the distance of four leagues, repairing their damage, and retiring, vessel by vessel, to their own ports, that he determined to enter Ostend.

This advantage is the second which has been gained by Admiral Verheul over the English fleet in the course of a few months. I requested a minute detail of this important affair, that I might propose to your Majesty the granting of rewards to the officers, sailors, and soldiers, who have distinguished themselves. I beg your Majesty to accept my profound respect.

(Signed) DECREES.

In July, 1804, Captain Owen, who in the Immortalité frigate commanded the blockade of the enemy's coast from Calais to St. Valery en Caux, discovered some of the enemy's flotilla in an exposed situation off Boulogne, the wind from N. W. a heavy sea had rendered their situation untenable, they weighed, and endeavoured to work off; but our cruisers were so much on the alert, that those who

attempted to clear the land were driven back with damage, and several of them ran on shore and were totally lost. Captains Jackson and Heywood, of the Autumn and Harpy, distinguished themselves on this occasion.

In the same month (August), the town of Havre de Grace, and the shipping in the port, were bombarded by the squadron under the command of Captain (now Rear-admiral) R. D. Oliver, of the Melpomene. The flotilla fitting in the pier had begun to haul out, and make preparations for moving towards Boulogne; but on seeing a reinforcement and the bomb-vessels, they hauled in again. The Commodore, however, placed his bomb-vessels within range of the pier, and gave them for one hour and a half a most severe bombardment, after which the squadron came out without any injury. The town is said to have received considerable damage. On the 4th of August, the enemy having recovered from their panic, moved their gun-brigs outside of the pier-head again to the number of fifty, and again the bombs were sent in to them. The Zebra, Explosion, Meteor, and Hecla plied them with shells as before, and set the town on fire.

The inhabitants flying to the hills, the firing slackened, and the tide of flood making, the ships were withdrawn. The Captains Beauchamp Proctor, R. Paul, J. James, and J. Sykes, commanded the bombs employed on this occasion. The most favourable opportunity for this kind of

attack is with the wind moderate from the N. E. Very little injury we believe was done to the pier or shipping; and the late Lord Rodney, on a similar occasion, called such attacks "breaking windows with guineas."

The bombardment of Havre de Grace in August, 1804, is memorable only for the dispute which arose between the officers of the navy, and the artillerymen embarked on board the bomb-vessels. The privates refused to do any other duty than simply that of attending to the mortars in time of action, and keeping them prepared for service; their officers supported them in this determination, and the commanders of the bombs appealed to the admiralty; in consequence of which, the marine artillery was formed, and embarked in the bombs, as we have related in a former volume.

About the same time that Sir James Saumarez was bombarding Granville, Captain Owen, in the Immortalité, was employed with his squadron on a similar service at Dieppe and St. Valery en Caux. He had with him the Perseus and Explosion bombs, commanded by the Captains Methuin and Paul. In the harbour of Dieppe, many gun-boats were building, which rendered that town an object of attack: it was after a heavy bombardment set on fire in two or three places, when the tide obliged the Commodore to weigh, and run down to St. Valery, where he repeated the same operation, there being at that time six vessels

building on the sea-shore. The loss on our side was trifling; and when we consider the little injury done to the enemy, compared to what is invariably inflicted on the most helpless, and consequently the least offensive, of the human species, the aged and infirm, the women and children, we must ever condemn this barbarous warfare.

While our navy thus spread terror and dismay from one extremity of the coast of France to the other, and while our cruisers intercepted their commerce in every direction, we are not to suppose their marine was idle; a numerous list of valuable captures made by their ships of war and privateers in every part of the world, bore testimony to their intrepidity and perseverance.

On the 16th of August, Napoleon celebrated his birthday, on the heights of Ambleteuse, where he reviewed eighty thousand troops, and distributed orders of merit to his soldiers of every rank: scarcely was the ceremony ended, when, on the following day, the Emperor preparing for his departure, a division of gun-boats, from Havre, entered the port of Boulogne in safety.

The British squadron cruising before that place was commanded by Rear-admiral Louis, whose flag was in the Leopard, of fifty guns, while Commodore Owen, in the Immortalité, of thirty-eight, kept the in-shore squadron constantly on the alert. Desirous of shewing the French Emperor a specimen of British seamanship, he attacked the

flotilla. The Count de Dumas says, the Emperor immediately embarked with Admiral Bruix, and that the English were compelled to retreat. One of our cutters, ominously named the Constitution, was sunk by a shell, though the crew were saved: from this accident the superstitious Napoleon no doubt inferred that the British constitution was to yield to his powerful arm. Another shell fell on board the Harpy, killed a man, and passing through the deck, knocked off its fuze, and lodged in a beam over the magazine door, where it remained. Many of the French flotilla were so much damaged that they were compelled to run on shore to stop their leaks.

It was on this anniversary of his fête that Napoleon "inaugurated" the naval dock-yard of Antwerp. It had been decreed the year before that a port of construction should be established at that place; the magazines, the stores, the docks, and the slips were already built, and three ships of the line were almost finished. Cherbourg had also triumphed over the fury of the ocean, and a quay, twelve feet above the highest spring-tide, with a battery of forty pieces of cannon, and twelve mortars, announced by their first salutes, the fête of Napoleon: twenty years before, the unhappy Louis XVI. had laid the foundation of this dyke, amidst the acclamations of his fickle and faithless people. We almost copy the words of the Count, who might have added, that in 1820 scarcely a vestige of the power of Napoleon remained at

Antwerp. The slips and store-houses were destroyed, the basins for merchant-ships, it is true, remained, but the iron hand of the tyrant, like another Pygmalion of Tyre, had banished industry to those regions where property was secured by the law, and not dependant on the will of a despot; nor is it likely that commerce will be soon restored by the mild policy of William V.

Calais, on the 28th of September, underwent a bombardment from the fire of the Tartarus and other small vessels, under the orders of Captain Jackson of the Autumn. What damage the port sustained, is not known; but giving every credit to our officers and men, employed on this ungrateful service, for valour and seamanship, we may venture to say that it never produced any other effect in France, than hatred to the British nation. As if to convince us how little injury they had sustained, on the two following days about fifty sail of gun-vessels came out of the harbour, and although chased by Captain Honeyman of the Leda, and the squadron under his orders, and sustaining the fire of our ships for several hours, they reached Boulogne, losing only two of their vessels, which were driven on shore and bilged. The most remarkable circumstance in these skirmishes was the fall of a ten inch shell on board the Leda, which, passing through her decks, burst in her hold, without doing any material injury to the ship, or hurting a man.

In November, Lieutenant Alexander Sheppard, commanding the hired cutter, Admiral Mitchell, serving under the orders of Captain Honeyman, highly distinguished himself by bringing a very strong division of the enemy to close action, engaging them for two hours and a half, and driving two of them on shore, notwithstanding a heavy and unequal fire against him.

The Princess Augusta, a cutter of about seventy tons burden, fought a very gallant action off the Texel, with two Dutch schooners, both of superior force, and, after a contest of one hour, defeated them, but was unable to capture either. Lieut. William Scott, the commander, was mortally wounded early in the action: when carried below he ordered the master, Mr. Joseph Thomas, to fight the vessel to the last, and to tell the Admiral that he (the Lieutenant) had done his duty.

The skirmishes on the French coast with the enemy's flotilla and our cruisers were continual, and filled the daily papers with the letters of the officers, which proved that the enemy had very little chance of success in their intended invasion. The party writers of the day attacked the lords of the admiralty for want of energy! Lord St. Vincent, in May, 1804, had been succeeded by Lord Melville, who came in with his friend Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington having resigned his situation as prime minister.

The perfection of the art of war is not so de-

structive to the human species as might be supposed. The bow, the spear, the javelin, and the catapultæ, in giving way to the musket, the bayonet, the gun, and the mortar, have rendered the field of battle less bloody, and more quickly decided. The use of fire-ships has long been laid aside, to the honour of the nation which first dispensed with this barbarous aggravation of the horrors of war. What generous bosom but must glow with honest indignation, at seeing a ship (after a brave defence, her decks covered with her dying people, and her masts lying alongside) set on fire, or blown up, by the enemy that dare not board and carry her into port? The last instance we have of an attempt of this kind made by the English at sea, was in the fight off Toulon in the year 1744, and it received from the historian of that day its merited reproach. Though fire-ships have accompanied our fleets since that period, they have never been used except in an anchorage, where there was a fair probability of the escape of the crew.

The enemy's flotilla before Boulogne, had increased to one hundred and fifty sail. Their position was, as in the late war, in front of their batteries, and excited the enterprise of the watchful British cruisers, and the ingenuity of mechanists, who sought their destruction by means of inventions which should blow them all into the air, without any risk to the engineer, whatever

might occur to the gallant conductor. Hence the introduction of the catamarins, the fire-vessels, and that novelty of the age, the clock-machine or torpedo: of these it is necessary to speak with some detail.

The fire-vessels were small sloops or brigs of eighty tons, filled of course with combustibles, and having grapnels at their yard-arms. These were commanded by young men, ready to attempt the most desperate deed if an occasion presented itself; but we never heard of one instance of their complete success.

The catamarins were similar in principle, as well as name, to those used by the natives of the coast of Coromandel. They consisted of two pieces of timber, about nine feet long and nine inches square, placed parallel to each other, at such a distance as to receive a man to sit between them on an iron bar, which admitted of his sinking nearly flush with the water, and occasionally immersing himself, so as to prevent his being seen in the dark, or by moonlight. The person who had charge of this notable contrivance was a sailor, clad in a black Guernsey waistcoat and trowsers, with a black cap which covered his face; he was furnished with a paddle, and being seated in his marine car, it was intended that he should take the clock-machine in tow. This instrument consisted of a copper case, about eighteen or nineteen feet long, and something similar in shape to

a coffin: its interior was furnished with combustibles, which were to explode by the striking of a clock within, which was to run a certain number of hours. The sailor in the catamarin, under cover of the night, dropping silently down with the tide, was to attach this machine to the cable of the enemy's vessel, and thus the projector hoped, that the sleeping and unsuspecting crew would be instantly destroyed; but the catamarin we believe was entirely laid aside, and the clock-machines were towed in by ship's boats: none of these machines ever took effect except against an unfortunate boat's crew of sixteen Frenchmen.

Coupled with these inventions we find one of a still more extraordinary nature, mentioned in the Naval Chronicle for 1802, vol. vii. p. 270. The diving-boat, or batteau plongeur, invented by Mr. Fulton, an American. This vessel was made by the artist to possess the singular quality of plunging two feet under water, and so continuing for eight hours, containing eight men, and carrying twenty days' provisions; air was admitted by means of funnels or tubes. We have heard a famous smuggler speak of a similar boat, but never knew of its application to any particular purpose. Something of the kind was constructing about three years ago, for the purpose of procuring the escape of Bonaparte from St. Helena. The projector of this scheme is well known to the North Sea officers of the late war: the death of the object

of emancipation caused the work to be discontinued.*

Such were the means which Lord Keith was commanded to employ for the destruction of the invading flotilla. His Lordship attended in person on board the Monarch, and we shall give an account of the result in his own words.

Monarch, off Boulogne, Oct. 3, 1804.

The operations commenced at a quarter past nine, P. M. and terminated at a quarter past four this morning, during which time several vessels prepared for the purpose were exploded amongst, or very near to the flotilla, but on account of the great distance at which they lay from each other, no very extensive injury seems to have been sustained; although it is evident that there has been very considerable confusion amongst them, and that two of the brigs, and several of the smaller vessels, appear to be missing since yesterday, at the close of the day.

I have great satisfaction in reporting that notwithstanding a heavy discharge of shells, shot, and musketry was kept up throughout the night, no casualty whatever on our part has been sustained: the enemy made no attempt to oppose their rowing boats to ours.

The principal fire-vessels were placed under the command of Captains M'Leod of the Sulphur, Jackson of the Autumn, Edwards of the Fury, Collard of the Railleur, and Searle of the Helder; and the Lieutenants Stewart of the Monarch, Lowry of the Leopard, Payne of the Immortalité, and Templar of the Sulphur. The boats of the squadron attended them, and the Castor and Greyhound frigates were directed to take up an anchorage to leeward, to pick up the boats, in case of accident. The leaders of the fire-vessels advanced against the flotilla with the most daring intrepidity, and executed their instructions, as far as valour and perseverance could achieve.

* The Author has in his possession a drawing of a similar invention, said to have been tried in the Delaware in 1814; it was to tow the clock-machine and fasten it to the object.

One of the fire-vessels was intrusted to the care of Captain S. Jackson, of the Autumn sloop of war, who was ordered to lay her alongside of the French Admiral (Bruix). The night was extremely dark, and when within a very short distance of his victim, his boat's crew in the gig ready to put off, the string attached to the clock to set it going slipped out of his hand, and could not be found. Jackson said he thought it better to be blown up than go back with such a story, and breaking open the hatch-way, which was securely battened over, he jumped down, regained the string, and by the time he was on deck the vessel was alongside the Admiral's praam. As he pulled the fatal line he stepped into his gig and put off; in twenty-five seconds (the expected time) the vessel exploded, but did no other injury to the enemy than taking away her bowsprit: Jackson and his brave crew escaped unhurt. A French lieutenant displayed an instance of coolness and presence of mind equally praiseworthy: seeing a fire-vessel approach him he leaped on board, and dexterously secured her to his own cable; returning to his vessel he dropped astern, and received no injury by the explosion which almost instantly followed.

The French picked up some of the coffers, or clock-machines, on the sea-shore, and called them, with great propriety, "machines infernales." A correct drawing of them is given in the plates of the Précis des Evénemens Militaires. The stone expedition next deserves our attention.

This was an expedient proposed by an ingenious person, to block up the harbour of Boulogne, by sinking ships, loaded with stones, at its entrance. Strange as such a project must appear to the philosopher and the officer, it had its supporters and its uses. Three merchant-ships, of about four hundred tons each, were purchased, and their holds filled with blocks of stone, well cemented and clamped together, so as to resist the action of the sea, at least for a certain time: this part of the preparation being complete, the vessels were next rendered combustible by the addition of every thing inflammatory that could be laid in them; and the day and hour were fixed for their departure. The projector was to lead the way, and was to be supported by three naval commanders of distinguished bravery, each provided with fast rowing gigs; but night after night passed away without presenting one favourable occasion for laying the ships on the shore, and at length the enterprise was abandoned, and the projector, it is supposed, retired *to France*, with a considerable sum of money from our government.

In the month of November, the severity of blockading the ports of the Texel was practically experienced in the loss of the Romney, of fifty guns, commanded by the Honourable Captain Colville. Most of the crew (with great difficulty) escaped, by the kind exertions of the Dutch, which produced the following letter from Vice-admiral Russell to Admiral Kickhurt.

His Britannic Majesty's ship Eagle,
North Seas, 2d December, 1804.

SIR,

I have this moment received your flag of truce, conveying to me the Honourable Captain Colville, late of his Majesty's ship the Romney (wrecked upon your coast), with eight of his officers, which you have first humanely saved from impending destruction, and which your government, with its ancient magnanimity, released and restored to their country and friends, on their parole of honour.

They are all, Sir, most sensibly affected with heartfelt gratitude to the Batavian government, for their emancipation from captivity; to Admiral Kickhurt for their preservation from the jaws of death; and to all the Dutch officers and the inhabitants of the Texel, for their kindness and most humane attention. This, Sir, is nobly alleviating the rigours of war, as the Christian heroes of your country and mine were wont *formerly* to do in these seas, before a considerable portion of European intellect was corrupted by false philosophy. Captain Colville will communicate to the right honourable my lords commissioners of the admiralty your proposal for an exchange of prisoners. Accept my sincere thanks, and the assurance that

I am, &c.
T. M. RUSSELL.

To Admiral Kickhurt, Texel.

The last operation of the year 1804, in the North Seas, was a fruitless attempt made by Captain Sir Home Popham, to destroy Fort Rouge, at the mouth of Calais harbour.

On the 17th of November, Captain Hancock had the good fortune to fall in with, and, after a long chase, in which much nautical skill and ability were displayed on both sides, capture Le Contre Amiral Magon, French privateer brig, of eighteen guns and eighty-four men, commanded by the noted Captain Blackman, who had cruised against our

trade with much success. Captain Hancock greatly distinguished himself during the war, as a vigilant and successful cruiser.

On the 31st of December, the Honourable Captain Colville, with the officers and ship's company of his Majesty's late ship the Romney, were tried by a court-martial, on board the Africaine, at Sheerness, for the loss of their ship off the Texel, on the 19th of November.

It appeared to the court, that the loss of the ship was occasioned by the thickness of the fog, and the ignorance of the pilots; and the sentence of the court was, that these should forfeit all their pay, and be rendered incapable of taking charge of any of his Majesty's ships or vessels of war in future; one of them to be imprisoned in the Marshalsea for the space of six months, and the other for twelve calendar months.

The captain, officers, and crew were honourably acquitted of all blame; it appearing to the court that the utmost exertions were used by them to save the ship after she had struck, and to prevent the ship's company from becoming prisoners of the enemy.

In the month of April, the enemy began again to increase his force in Boulogne, by contributions of small vessels built at the different ports during the winter. The Gallant and Watchful, two gun-brigs under the orders of Lieutenant Shirley, fell in with a number of Dutch schuyts coming from Dunkirk, which were pursued and

driven ashore in great confusion; but the Gallant receiving four heavy shot from the batteries, below her water-line, was forced to put about. On the same day they were met by Captain Honeyman, of the Leda, with his little squadron of sloops of war and gun-brigs, and he succeeded in bringing them to close action, and took seven vessels. Two more of them were taken on the following day by Lieutenant Price, in the Archer gun-brig. These vessels were from twenty-five to thirty tons burden, carrying one long twenty-four pounder, a howitzer, and one or two twelve or six pounders; they were manned with soldiers, under the command of a lieutenant of infantry, and had seldom more than four sailors on board.

The mortifications of the Emperor, while he continued on the coast, were endless. On the 17th of July, the Ariadne, commanded by the Honourable Captain Edward King, was lying in the road of Gravelines, with the Speedy, Calypso, and Zephyr, sloops of war, and Devastation bomb, and three gun-brigs: at half-past six in the evening, the enemy's flotilla, to the number of forty sail, were discovered to be under way, and coming to the westward; as soon as they approached sufficiently near, Captain King made the signal to slip, and at half-past nine opened his fire on the enemy with great impetuosity, the flotilla returning it and approaching Calais; at midnight the British vessels drew off.

At daylight a squadron from the Downs made

its appearance; the enemy at an anchor near Calais; the British bomb-vessels threw shells among them and the infantry and flying artillery which lined the shore. At four o'clock the Immortalité and Vestal having joined, the action became more general; but at half-past seven the squadron hauled off without having effected the capture of one vessel, and having, in the two actions, five men killed, and more than twenty wounded. The Immortalité and Ariadne were the chief sufferers.

If the character of an officer were to be estimated only by the number of vessels he had captured from the enemy, some of our best and bravest would not appear in their proper station. This remark is peculiarly applicable to Commodore (now Sir Edward) Owen, whose arduous services off Boulogne and Calais, entitle him to a high consideration among the foremost defenders of their country.

He commanded the Immortalité, a frigate of the larger class, and though of a great draught of water, was constantly cruising in the long winter nights among the shoals and intricate navigation of the narrow seas; nor can we say, that the number of prizes captured by this frigate bore any proportion to the actions she was constantly in, to the time she continued at sea, or to the skill, vigilance, and bravery of her commander.

These skirmishes terminated the active operations of the enemy in the North Seas, for the year 1805. Had the events in the Channel been

different, had Villeneuve defeated Sir Robert Calder and eluded Nelson, it is probable we should have been compelled to dispute the passage of the Channel with the French army and navy, headed by Bonaparte in person. For confirmation of this opinion, we may turn to the famous commentary of Bonaparte on the conduct of his admiral, given in M. Dupin's work, so often quoted, vol. i. p. 244. It is not however very likely, that Villeneuve would have acted in a manner so diametrically opposite to his orders as stated by the Emperor, that he should have run into Ferrol, instead of the Channel, where his presence was the only thing wanted to complete the plans of the campaign, and to set the stupendous armament in motion. The invasion of England (and who can say to what it might have led?) was abandoned; and the battle of Austerlitz, fought by the army of France, was perhaps as fatal to that country as to Germany. Well indeed might the enraged Bonaparte exclaim, "*Quel amiral! Quelle marine! Quelles sacrifices!*" If such were his exclamations in August, what must they have been in October, when he learned that the same Villeneuve had lost twenty-five sail of the line; when all his hopes of the conquest of England, and of the plunder of the Bank, all his "ships, commerce, and colonies," and most of his best seamen, were buried in one common grave?

Thus far had the threats of Napoleon drawn on himself and his country nothing but disgrace and disaster. The torpedoes, and the fire-ships, and

stone-ships, though weak and defective in contrivance, wanted not men of valour to place them under the muzzles of their guns. The assembled army on the opposite coast produced one general burst of enthusiastic love for king, country, and government, from the South Foreland to the Land's End; from Guernsey and Jersey to Orkney and Shetland. The British army desired nothing so fervently as to meet his legions: the navy only feared the day would never come when the flotilla, under cover of their fleet, would venture as far as Mid Channel. If the menace of invasion caused some evil, it also elicited the national feeling, and produced those inventions and that assemblage of strength and courage which struck terror into the hearts of our enemies; and as they turned their backs to the water, a French field-officer, in writing to his friend, very justly observed, "We have gone to all this tremendous expense for no other purpose than to frighten our soldiers."

CHAP. VIII.

Affairs of St. Domingo—Alarm of the British government at the progress of the rebellion, and at the forces employed by Bonaparte to suppress it—Policy of Toussaint—Sailing of Villaret and Le Clerc—Their forces, naval and military—Arrival and operations—Successes—Villaret writes to Sir John Duckworth—British fleet quits the West Indies—Account of the exertions and sufferings of the French army—Bonaparte sends out the sons of Toussaint—Surrender of the Generals Christophe and Dessalines—Capture of Toussaint—He is sent to France, and dies—Revival of the rebellion—Caused by news from Guadaloupe—Forces sent from France to suppress it—Cruelty of the French to the mulatto chiefs, and desperate state of their affairs in consequence—War between France and England, causes the final ruin of the French in St. Domingo—British naval force at Jamaica—Commodore Hood at Barbadoes—His attack on St. Lucia and Tobago—Blockade of St. Domingo—Capture of La Creole—Gallant conduct of Captain Austin Bissel—Capture of the Duquesne of seventy-four guns—Evacuation of St. Marc by the French—Calumnies of the Count de Dumas against the British navy refuted—His misrepresentations exposed respecting the battle of Algeziras—Evacuation of Aux Cayes—Captain Bligh in the Theseus takes Fort Dauphin, and saves the French garrison from being murdered—Captain Bissel is again successful—Is promoted into the Creole, which founders at sea—Capture of Demerara and Essequibo—Boat enterprises in the Leeward Islands—Evacuation of St. Domingo by the French—Capture of their squadron—Destruction of their army.

On adverting again to the West Indies, the affairs of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe naturally demand our attention; and that our readers may more clearly understand the objects of our naval cam-

paigns in that quarter of the world, it will be necessary to recur to the scenes which had passed from the time Toussaint L'Ouverture obtained the supreme power, until the peace of Amiens.

Regardless of the treaty of Basle, by which the Spanish part of St. Domingo had been ceded to France, Toussaint had, in the year 1800, made himself master of the whole island from east to west; and having consolidated his power, was named governor for life, and permitted to make choice of a successor. This was a fearful state of things for the planters of Jamaica, and not at all agreeable to the ideas and views of the Chief Consul. Thus France and England, though at war, had the same interests in the result of this revolution; but England, without wishing for negro emancipation, was forced to oppose the arms of France in St. Domingo, and unite with the blacks, who were not so much to be dreaded in the western hemisphere as the marine and armies of the French republic.

The wise and liberal policy of Toussaint had induced many of the French proprietors to return to the island; he generously restored their estates, and afforded them protection; commerce began to revive; England and America became the carriers, and France, by circuitous routes, once more tasted the productions of St. Domingo.

Toussaint, while he ruled with arbitrary sway, affected a deference to the First Consul, to whom, in February, 1801, he sent Colonel Vincent, with

the outline of a constitution for his approval; the first and most important articles of which were the abolition of slavery, and the eligibility of all persons, of whatever colour, to employments in the state. Bonaparte would not submit to a compromise with the chief of a rebellion, and prepared to reduce the island to such terms as he might think proper to grant: but never in the whole course of his career did he display a greater deficiency of human feeling, of common honesty, political foresight, or of local knowledge, than in the memorable invasion of St. Domingo. For this enterprise, the largest armament which France had ever sent to sea, was prepared in the ports of Europe, including Spain, from the Texel to Toulon. It consisted of thirty-five sail of the line; one of which, the Ocean, mounted one hundred and twenty guns; there were two of eighty, thirty-two of seventy-four guns, twenty-one frigates, and many other vessels: these were to carry out twenty-one thousand troops. Villaret, the gallant veteran who commanded the fleet on the 1st of June, had the chief command of the naval armament. He had his flag on board the Ocean, and sailed from Brest, on the 19th of December, 1801, with fifteen sail of the line, ten of which were French and five Spanish. This fleet, including nine frigates, carried seven thousand troops, and was joined by a ship of the line and two frigates from L'Orient, carrying one thousand two hundred more.

The Rochefort squadron, under Rear-admiral La Touche Treville, of six sail of the line, six frigates, and two corvettes, with three thousand troops, was to repair to Brest, and form the advanced guard of the fleet.

The Toulon squadron was commanded by Gantheaume, with Dumanoir under him: he had four sail of the line, with two thousand three hundred men.

While this squadron was passing the Straits, an incident occurred in the bay of Gibraltar, which displays the noble character of our seamen in the most exalted point of view. Orders had been received by Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez, to detach the St. George, Powerful, Zealous, and Spencer, to the same station. The crews of three of the ships manifested great discontent at the orders; and the Admiral, previously to resorting to more forcible means, was about to admonish them to return to their duty, when the French squadron hove in sight: in an instant all murmuring ceased; the ships were unmoored, and never prepared for sea with greater alacrity.

Linois sailed from Cadiz with three sail of the line, and one thousand five hundred troops. The Dutch division carried out two thousand five hundred troops, and two other detachments from Havre and Brest carried three thousand more. This vast and disjointed armament, sailing at different periods, and bound to, or putting into different ports of the island, wanted a common centre

of union, which tended with other causes to render their plans abortive.

The army was commanded by General Le Clerc, brother-in-law of the Chief Consul. The Spanish part of the armament was commanded by Admiral Gravina, who had his flag in the Neptuno, but parted company soon after their sailing, and put into Ferrol, to have his ship repaired. He joined again at Cape Samana, in the month of January, with all the ships from Ferrol and Rochefort. Villaret, after giving an account of these transactions, says, "it was nevertheless still doubtful whether they should discover in Toussaint L'Ouverture, a faithful Frenchman, or a rebel African."

The forces were divided into three bodies, and directed to land in three distinct places: the first under the orders of the Commander-in-chief Le Clerc, and conducted by Villaret, was to take possession of Cape François; the second under General Boudet, conducted by Rear-admiral La Touche Treville, was to land at Port-au-Prince; the third under General Rochambeau, and conducted by Captain Magen, was to disembark in Mancenille-bay, and second the attack of Rochambeau on Fort Dauphin.

When Admiral Villaret, in the Ocean, with his division presented himself before the road of Cape François, a mulatto, who acted as captain of the port, came off and informed him, that the black general, Christophe, had declared that the whites should be murdered, and the town set on fire, the

very moment the squadron entered the pass, unless the Admiral would wait the return of a courier, sent to Governor Toussaint L'Ouverture. The General wrote in vain to Christophe, acquainting him with the "*benevolent intentions*" of the Chief Consul. The black general was firm, and Toussaint was perfectly aware of the nature of the indulgences intended to be shewn to his countrymen.

Rochambeau having made good his landing in Mancenille-bay, and the French troops having obtained possession of Port Dauphin, Le Clerc thought to land with equal facility at Acul. Villaret advanced with two sail of the line, the Scipion and the Patriote, to Fort Picolet, when the blacks, true to their word, set fire to the city of the Cape, and opened a furious cannonade on the two ships; all night the French, from their fleet, beheld the conflagration, unable to afford any assistance to the wretched inhabitants. Villaret, at daylight, pushed in with the Ocean; the blacks deserted Forts Picolet and St. Joseph, while General Humbert, with two hundred men, took possession of Fort Belair. Rear-admiral Latouche, with General Boudet, made a desperate attack, and succeeded in taking Fort Republican; and "eight days," says Villaret, "sufficed for the whole operations, which presented a mass of fortunate results, and guaranteed to France the possession of her finest colony." He was now joined by Rear-admiral Linois, with another division from Cadiz; but that officer running too close to the shore, the

St. Gennaro and the Dessaix, of seventy-four guns, struck on the rocks off the city of Cape François. The latter was lost; the other got off with considerable damage; and Linois, the most unfortunate of all naval officers, lamented, in a letter which he wrote to Villaret, the accident which had befallen his friend, the brave Palliere, who commanded the Dessaix, at the battle of Algeziras.

Such was the situation of St. Domingo, when Rear-admiral George Campbell sailed with his squadron from Spithead, in 1802. In the month of April he reached Jamaica, where he became second in command, and had a force of two-and-twenty sail of the line cruising between that island and Hispaniola. The cabinet of St. James's must have felt some little alarm for Jamaica, and the precautions taken for its security, though expensive, were certainly justifiable. Villaret announced his arrival and his success to Rear-admiral Sir John Duckworth, the British Commander-in-chief; gave him an account of the land and sea forces, either arrived or expected; and entreated his good offices towards the fleets and armies of France. The French Admiral proposed sending most of the flutes, with six or seven ships of the line, back to Europe. Gantheaume arrived with his division, which sailed from Toulon on the 9th of January, and after a passage of little more than thirty days, landed two thousand three hundred men, of whom *thirteen only* were sent to the hos-

pitals. This last piece of information (if correct) is only to be accounted for, by supposing that there were no hospitals to receive them, or that the patients did not live to reach them, as we find it acknowledged by General Dampierre, that the soldiers died as soon as they landed.

On the 8th of May, General Le Clerc wrote to the minister of marine and the colonies, and acquainted him with the happy events which had restored tranquillity to St. Domingo; that the rebels were every where defeated and dispersed; terror in their camps, without magazines, without powder, and the blacks reduced to live upon bananas. The arrival of the squadrons from Flushing and Havre had completed their overthrow. Christophe had surrendered, and Toussaint had followed his example. Dessalines was sent to a plantation near St. Marc, and the city of Cape François was rebuilding. Commerce was reviving, and the Americans prevented from supplying the blacks with arms and ammunition.

It was probably in consequence of this favourable appearance of affairs in St. Domingo, that the British Admiral, on the Jamaica station, was enabled to send home three divisions of ships of the line; in July, five sail arrived at Plymouth; six at Portsmouth; and in September, Rear-admiral Campbell arrived at Plymouth, with six more.

The *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, vol. viii. p. 227, gives an afflicting account of the horrors attending this expedition. Dessalines, unable to prevent the

capture of Port-au-Prince, had arrested all the white planters within his reach, and compelled them to join in his march. Quitting the town of St. Marc, he gave it up to the flames, and his cruel footsteps were every where marked with fire and blood: all the whites were massacred; Arcahaye was reduced to cinders, and its inhabitants murdered. Bonaparte attempted to gain the mind of Toussaint by an act of generosity, to which the black chief was insensible. He sent out to him his two sons, whom Toussaint had sent to France for their education: the inflexible negro received them with parental kindness—their mother embraced them, and they joined their entreaties to those of Mons. Cuanon, their preceptor, that their father would accept of the terms proposed by Bonaparte. Toussaint said he would return an answer to Le Clerc, once more embraced his boys, and dismissed them to the Cape, requesting of Le Clerc some time to deliberate. The General gave him four days, and sent back his sons; but no farther reply being sent, Le Clerc renewed hostilities, and Toussaint, retaining his sons, defended himself with valour in his strong hold of La Coupe de Pintade. His intrenchments were forced by his daring enemy, who killed eight hundred of his best men; and after witnessing the defection of his black colleagues, Maurepas, Christophe, and Dessalines, Toussaint came in with his guard, and submitted to the terms proposed to him, but refused to take any office of trust, and

was, at his own request, permitted to retire to his estate of Ennery. There he is said to have beheld, with an envious eye, the prosperity of the colony, under the wise and temperate government of Le Clerc; whether he intended to be faithful to the new order of things, or whatever doubts Toussaint might have entertained, his determination was formed by the impolicy of Bonaparte, who had let the word "slavery"* escape his lips. His untimely war with England blasted all his hopes of regaining St. Domingo, and once more deluged the soil in the blood of the innocent victims of his selfish policy. In the month of June, the yellow fever, more rapid in its approaches, and more fatal in its effects, than the plague of Africa, swept off the troops by thousands. Le Clerc, either suspecting Toussaint, or having certain information of his having secretly excited the blacks to take advantage of the fatal epidemic, seized his person, and sent him to France, where he ended his days under suspicious circumstances. Just at this moment some vessels arrived from Guadaloupe and Martinique, and gave the negroes the certain information that slavery was again to be established. These events brought about the third great crisis of the miserable St. Domingo, whose sorrows were all imported from the mother-country, her unnatural parent. In 1791, the Convention excited them to rebellion;

* "In Martinique, slavery continues and will continue."—*Thebadeau.*

in 1801, Bonaparte roused them to arms against his invading army; and, in less than two years after, the arrest and disappearance of their favourite chief, and the renewal of slavery, completed the last sad catastrophe, and drove the ill-fated people to a great and decisive rebellion; when the negroes, aided by the British navy, finally expelled the French from the island, to which, in all probability, they never will return as settlers, until the present generation shall be swept away.

The month of October saw at once the fatal ravages of the fever, the insurrection of the blacks, and the death of the unfortunate Le Clerc, who fell a victim to the climate. He was succeeded by Rochambeau, the senior general.

While these scenes were passing in St. Domingo, Guadaloupe was in the same state of anarchy, produced by the same causes. An insurrection, headed by a man of colour, named Pelage, had dispossessed the governor, Admiral La Crosse, of his situation, and obliged him to quit the island. A squadron of three sail of the line, and four frigates, under the orders of Admiral Bouvet, sailed from Brest, in April, 1802, for Guadaloupe; they had three thousand troops on board, and eight pieces of artillery: the land forces were under the command of General Richepanse, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Hohenlinden: he arrived in May, and had to act over again the same tragedy which, in 1794, had ended with the death of General Dundas, and his brave associates. It

must be confessed, that in the suppression of this rebellion, as well as that of St. Domingo, nothing could exceed, in point of valour and discipline, the conduct of the French generals and their armies. In Guadaloupe, the negroes being driven from one part to another, three hundred of them took refuge in a house called Anglemont, set fire to their powder, and blew themselves into the air. General Richepanse, and his men, astonished and horror-struck for an instant, took advantage of the explosion, pushed on, charged the rebels, and completed their overthrow; and Guadaloupe was once more reduced to obedience and to slavery. The same malady which attacked the Generals Dundas and Le Clerc proved fatal also to Richepanse, immediately after his victory; he died on the 3rd of September, 1802, after having restored Admiral La Crosse to his government. Thus Guadaloupe was regained, but St. Domingo retained its liberty.

Bonaparte made sensible, when too late, of the folly, if not of the cruelty, of his enterprise, had too much pride to acknowledge his error, and still persisted in his attempts, though a war with England prevented the necessary reinforcements from reaching the island. Nine thousand troops were all that remained, besides a national guard, consisting of the white inhabitants, and some faithful blacks and mulattoes; but these last were speedily driven again to rebellion, by the impolicy of Rochambeau and his associate General Darbois, who having arrested one of them named Bardet, caused him

to be drowned, and a few nights after some more of his gallant associates, on some slight suspicion, met the same fate. Bardet had been one of the most faithful adherents of the French, and his death drove all of his colour to join with the negroes, and a new and terrible insurrection broke out. They penetrated to Aux Cayes, and murdered all the whites that fell into their hands. Christophe and Dessalines instantly marched to attack the Cape; took Fort Belair, on the 17th of February, and put the garrison to the sword; but by the exertions of Rochambeau they were beaten and put to flight, and the fort retaken. The arms which the negroes left behind them were found to be English; hence the Count de Dumas infers that they had been recently landed from a *British frigate*. Nothing could be more improbable, though we will not deny that a British merchant-vessel may have sold them to the blacks; it is however equally probable that they had been left by our army in 1794.

In the month of April, 1803, another squadron arrived from France, under the orders of Rear-admiral Bedout, bringing two thousand more troops; but these were nearly destroyed by the enemy as soon as they landed, and almost without firing a shot.

The Count de Dumas, from whom we copy the greater part of this narrative, insists that the British government afforded protection and sent supplies to the blacks, previously to the declaration of war.

This, we think, has been refuted before, and we shall not attempt it again. The French lost the island by the folly of *their* government, and wished to impute it to the treachery of ours. "The piracy of the negroes against French commerce," says the historian, "was encouraged by the English."

This desperate state of affairs was not improved by the arrival of the Indefatigable, French frigate, with orders to the Commander-in-chief to evacuate Port-au-Prince, and unite his forces at Cape François. The report of war with England brought by the same vessel, spread a deep consternation among the planters, who saw with terror the bonfires of the negroes on the mountains, and heard their shouts and yells of joy at the approaching fate of their victims. The certainty of their misfortune was established on the 18th of June, when the British squadron commenced the blockade of Port-au-Prince and Les Cayes. The forces under the command of Sir John Duckworth at this time, consisted of the following ships:

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Leviathan	74	Rear-admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth. Captain R. D. Dunn.
Bellerophon	74	J. Loring.
Cumberland	74	H. W. Bayntun.
Ganges	74	G. M. Shirley.
Goliath	74	C. Brisbane.
Theseus	74	John Bligh.
Vanguard	74	James Walker.
De Ruyter	68	V. V. Ballard.
Elephant	74	George Dundas.
Desirée	36	C. B. H. Ross.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Trent	36	———
Sta. Margarita	36	———
Cerberus	32	J. Macnamara.
Tartar	32	J. Perkins.
Æolus	32	H. Whitby.
Heureux	24	L. O. Bland.
Garland	24	Lenox Thompson.
Echo	24	John Serrell.
Osprey	18	George Irwin.
Stork	18	F. Cotterell.
Racoon (brig)	18	W. Rathborne.
Snake	18	W. Roberts.
Shark	16	S. B. Herring.
Calypso	16	W. Venour.
Gipsy	10	Lieut. ———.

Many of the ships of the French navy wanting provisions, which they could not procure in the West Indies, were compelled to return home, although their services were much required in the colonies. We must quit St. Domingo for a short time to see what was passing to windward.

Commodore Samuel Hood arrived at Barbadoes in the Blenheim, of seventy-four guns, as commander-in-chief, in December, 1802, relieving Commodore Stopford: and when the news of hostilities reached the Leeward Islands in June, it was decided to make an attack on the enemy's settlements.

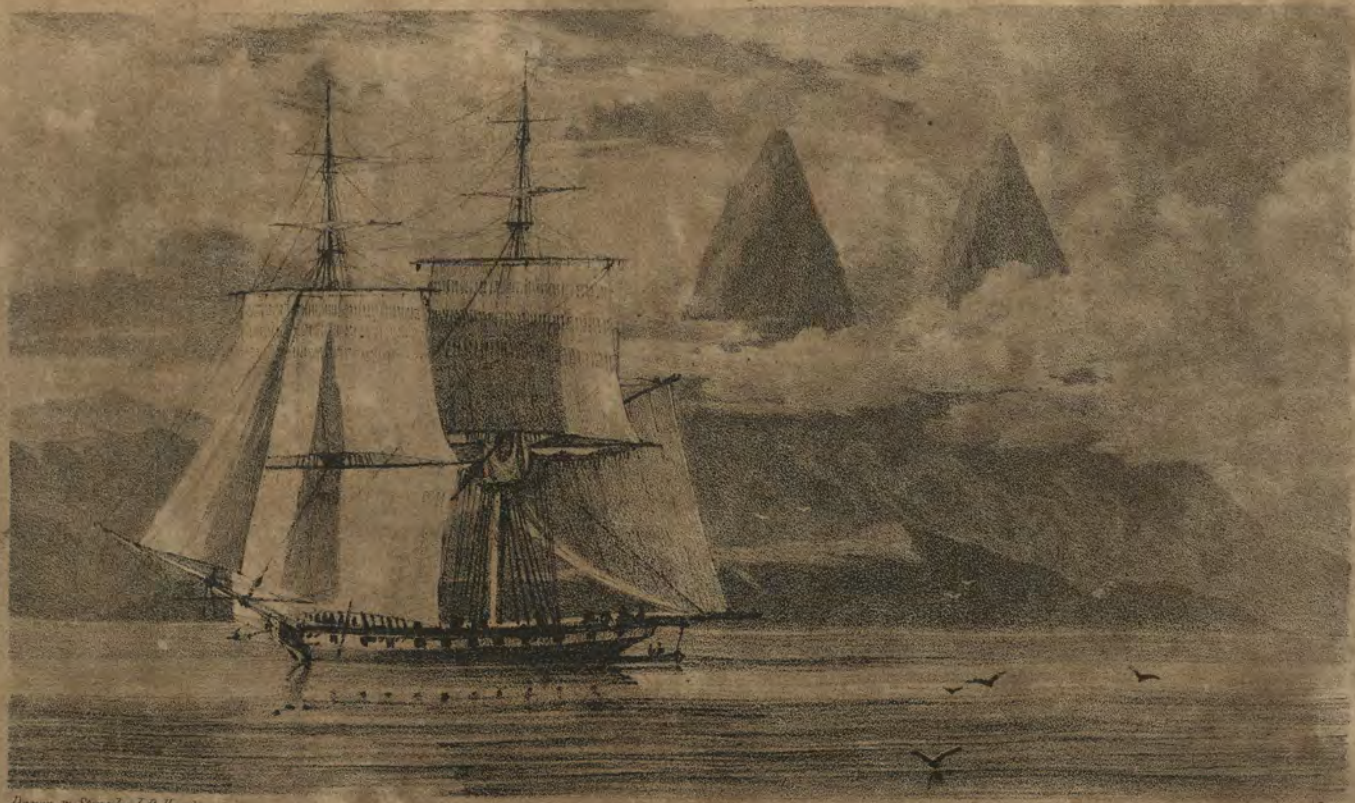
On the 22d of June, St. Lucia surrendered to the army and navy, united under the command of Lieut.-general Grinfield and Commodore Hood; the fortress of Morne Fortunée was carried by assault before day-break. To appreciate this instance of valour, it is necessary to see the situation of the

place, commanding every approach, and bidding defiance to any troops, but such as were determined to conquer or perish. The loss was chiefly confined to the officers, who led the way up the steep paths which conducted them to the guns of the enemy; and we mention, as a fact honourable to our country, and worthy of imitation, that although the place was taken by storm, and entered sword in hand, none of the enemy, notwithstanding their resistance, were put to death or injured after the surrender.

Commodore Hood had with him the Centaur, seventy-four (in which was his broad pendant), Captain Littlehales; Courageux, seventy-four; Argo, forty-four, Captain Benjamin Hallowell; Chichester, forty-four, en flute; Hornet and Cyane sloops.

Having despatched Captain Littlehales to England with the account of this event, the Commodore proceeded to Tobago, with the Lieutenant-general and the forces under him. That island surrendered on the 1st of July, without much resistance, although commanded by the celebrated Cæsar Berthier, afterward so well known under the government of Bonaparte. Captain Hallowell was sent home with the account of this capture.

Meanwhile the cruisers of Rear-admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, on the Jamaica station, watched the ports of St. Domingo with unceasing vigilance. Captain Bayntun in the Cumberland of seventy-four guns, with the Vanguard, seventy-



Drawn & Stone by J.D. Harding

from a Drawing by Capt. Preston

THE PITONS OF ST LUCIA.

Printed by C. Hullmandel

four, Captain Walker, and Goliath, under his orders, while off Cape Nicholas Mole captured, on the 30th of June, La Creole, a French frigate, of forty-four guns, eighteen pounders, and having on board General Morgan, second in command in St. Domingo, with his staff, and five hundred and thirty troops. The crew of the frigate consisted of only one hundred and fifty men. Captain Brisbane, in the Goliath, captured nearly at the same time, La Mignonne, a corvette of sixteen long eighteen pounders, and eighty men.

On the 11th of July, Captain Bissel of the Racoon brig of eighteen guns, saw a French national brig lying in the Leogane roads: he instantly bore up to close with her, and found her preparing to receive him with springs on her cable. Captain Bissel, being as well prepared, came to an anchor also with springs within thirty yards of him, and commenced a smart action; which having lasted half an hour, the Frenchman cut his cable, and made sail, pursued by the Racoon, whose fire had completely unrigged the enemy. In ten minutes more she surrendered: her name was the Lodi, pierced for twenty guns, but having only ten mounted.

The next achievement we have to notice, is the capture of the Duquesne, of seventy-four guns, by the squadron under the command of Commodore Loring, on the 24th of June, off Cape Nicholas Mole. During a heavy squall off the land, two ships of the line lying in that port attempted to

make their escape from our blockading squadron. They were immediately discovered, and hauled their wind under the land; but were unable to elude the vigilance of Captain A. F. Evans in the Æolus, and Captain Perkins in the Tartar. The two enemy's ships separated in the night; notice of which was conveyed to Captain Loring, who sent Captain Dundas, in the Elephant, in chase of one, while he pursued the other with the two frigates. Captain Loring came up with his chase at daylight, when the Vanguard and Tartar being near enough to exchange shots with her, she surrendered; the other ship, which was the Duguay Trouin, escaped.

The blockade of the whole of the French ports in the island of St. Domingo, in September, 1803, left the unfortunate people no hope of relief. Rebellion, famine, and disease, carried off their victims by hundreds; and death was welcomed by them as their only refuge from such complicated sufferings. The black General Dessalines had summoned the town of St. Marc, which was reduced to the most painful extremity, and but for the persevering humanity of Captain James Walker, the French garrison would have been put to death in cold blood, with the aggravation of torture. At the request of the British captain they were spared, and General D'Henin and his staff, with eight hundred and fifty men, were received and humanely treated on board the Vanguard, and other ships of war. In the harbour of St. Marc

there were some vessels, which, being included in the capitulation, fell into the hands of Captain Walker, and the blacks entered the town the moment the French troops had embarked.

The Count de Dumas, whose accuracy as an historian we shall frequently be obliged to call in question, has made an assertion respecting the evacuation of this place, which it is our duty to contradict. In vol. viii. p. 334, after giving an affecting history of the sufferings of the planters, and the garrison of St. Marc, of the extreme misery to which they were reduced, of their being forced to commit themselves to the most crazy vessels, and set sail for Cuba, leaving their property and dearest relatives to the mercy of the negroes, he adds, "The English watched their prey; and, keeping at a distance from the coast, allowed the French vessels to run to leeward, and then seizing upon them, plundered the passengers, disarmed the soldiers, and permitted them to proceed on their voyage!" We will refer him to the French officers, even to the women, and to every person who fell into our hands, or was so fortunate as to obtain the protection of a British ship of war, whether this is true or not. We know that Captain Walker, who was employed on that service, and who received the fugitive French on board his ship, treated them with that humanity and generosity, which it was his duty and wish to shew to an unresisting enemy. We know that they were never plundered of one dollar; and

we know that but for the valour and perseverance of all the naval officers on that station, every one of these unfortunate people would have ended their lives in tortures, under the merciless hands of the negroes.

The Count's assertions on this occasion deviate from the truth as much as when he speaks of the battle of Algeziras, or that off Cape Trafalgar, in July, 1801. In the first, he says, the Pompeé was *taken*, but towed away by the English; in the second, that the Formidable alone engaged five English ships of the line, who fired red hot shot into her!! The colours of the Pompeé were never struck. The Formidable was never, during the whole night, engaged by any ship; and in the morning, the Venerable alone brought her to action, and the Formidable fled, though the enemy's squadron consisted of six sail of the line against our five (as the Hannibal did not quit Algeziras with the fleet), and disgracefully left their unfortunate allies to perish in the flames. Finally, no British ship ever fired a red hot shot, nor was there ever an apparatus on board of one for heating them.

General Le Fevre, who commanded the French troops at the port of Aux Cayes, sent off terms of capitulation to Captain Henry Whitby, who commanded the blockade in the Pelican brig. A suspension of hostilities was in consequence agreed on, and the Theseus and La Pique were ordered to receive the garrison. Captain Bligh of the Theseus, was at that time employed in the block-

ade of the town of Cape François, and attacked Fort Dauphin, where the enemy's small craft had constantly found a refuge from the pursuit of our boats, and carried supplies to the town. Leaving the Cumberland and Hercule off the Cape, Captain Bligh proceeded to the attack of the place, and bringing his ship to an anchor within musket-shot of Fort Le Bouc, situated at the entrance of the harbour, he soon silenced the enemy's guns, and saw the colours hauled down. Towed by her boats, the Theseus next entered the harbour, to attack another fort, and a ship of war of twenty guns, lying near it: the latter surrendered after receiving a few shot; and the commandant of the fort, beset by the blacks on every side, preferred surrendering to the English, with whom he was certain of receiving the treatment due to an unfortunate enemy. He accordingly surrendered to Captain Bligh, who took him and the troops on board, and sent them, with all their sick, under a flag of truce to Cape François. From these people he learned, that the French General Dumont and his suite had lately fallen into the hands of the blacks, and were in the most imminent danger of being put to death. Captain Bligh lost not a moment in soliciting their freedom from the black chief, which he had the good fortune and happiness to obtain, and they accompanied the rest of their countrymen to the Cape. Here are three glorious instances of British officers saving their enemies from a cruel death, or lingering torments.

We are sorry the Count de Dumas was either unacquainted with these facts, or unwilling to relate them.

Humanity was not the only good quality shewn by the British officers on this station; their bravery was highly conspicuous, and successful. Captain Austin Bissel, one of those bright ornaments of our profession, who had risen from his own merit, continued in command of the Racoon, and was employed on the coast of Cuba. While off the town of St. Jago, he saw five French vessels at anchor: two of these he captured, a third he drove on shore, after which he engaged two armed vessels, their consorts. They came down as if with a determination to take him by boarding. Captain Bissel, quite prepared, closed with them: the largest, and the first brought to action, was a brig, which having approached very near, attempted to run ahead, between the Racoon and the land. Captain Bissel, to prevent this, put his helm hard a-port, and obliged the enemy to run on shore, giving her his broadside at the same time; when nearly aboard of each other, the enemy struck her colours, but hoisted them again as she lay on the rocks. To avoid running on shore, Captain Bissel had occasion to exert his utmost skill; he threw his brig in stays, gave the other broadside, and as he came round, his stern was in the breakers. This vessel was called La Mutine, carrying eighteen guns, long eighteen pounders, and was full of men, who escaped to

the shore; she was totally lost. The schooner made her escape. The Racoon had one lieutenant and forty men away in prizes, leaving only eighty on board.

Captain Bissel's next encounter with the enemy was still more desperate, and crowned with more perfect success.

In the month of October following, while off Cumberland harbour, he observed ten sail of vessels to windward: these were coming from Port-au-Prince, of the evacuation of which he had just received intelligence. He chased and came up with a brig, a schooner, and a cutter, full of men: the brig struck on the firing of the first or second broadside; an officer with a small party was sent to secure her, while the Racoon was engaged with the other two, which approached with an apparent determination to board. Captain Bissel allowed them to approach so near as to be sure of his guns doing execution: the cutter steered for his bow, the schooner for his quarter; these vessels he engaged for an hour, and by superior seamanship and coolness prevented their boarding him. At length the cutter, being a perfect wreck, surrendered, and the schooner made off, but ultimately both were secured. After this, the Racoon went in chase of the brig, which she had first taken; the few men put on board of her, had been overpowered by the prisoners, who had run the vessel on shore, and she was totally lost, but the Racoon received her people back in safety. It is remark-

able, that on the side of the British no one was killed, and only one person, the master, wounded. The enemy's vessels had on board three hundred and thirty soldiers and seamen, of whom a large proportion were officers. They were all armed vessels, and came out for the express purpose of taking the Racoon by boarding: they had about forty killed and wounded

For these repeated instances of gallantry and superior skill, Captain Bissel was deservedly made post into the Creole; and in the month of December, 1803, sailed with a convoy from Jamaica, to proceed to England. Captain Serrell, in the Cumberland, of seventy-four guns, was the senior officer in charge of the convoy. When a few degrees to the north-west of the Bermudas, the frigate sprang a dangerous leak, many of her butts started, and her bolts were found to be so loose as to be pulled out by hand. What excuse can be made for the surveying officers at Port Royal, who, if they *knew* their duty, were guilty of murder, in reporting such a ship fit for a winter passage to England? A gale of wind soon discovered to the exhausted crew that the pumps alone would keep her above water only for a few days. The prisoners cheerfully worked at them, and the crew fothered the ship with a topsail under her bottom. At length, after eight days of severe labour, Captain Serrell, of the Cumberland, ordered a survey of the ship, and she was found incapable of continuing the voyage. The prisoners and sick were first withdrawn, after which the

ship's company left her, and lastly the captain; the guns and every heavy article had been thrown overboard, and one hour after the last boat quitted the Creole, she went down. Her gallant commander saved from this disaster, was reserved for one more terrible and more fatal.

While these events were passing on the Jamaica station, the army and navy were not idle to windward.

Demerara and Essequibo surrendered to Lieutenant-general Grinfield and Commodore Hood, on the 19th of September, 1803, and the colony of Berbice capitulated on the 23rd, to Lieutenant-colonel Nicholson and Captain Loftus Otway Bland of the Heureux.

The settlements from that moment became British colonies, and are now the most valuable of our possessions in the West Indies.

Commodore Hood returned to Martinique, which, having been given up to the French at the peace of Amiens, was now well garrisoned, and in a most efficient state of defence. Captain Crozier, with a party of marines, attacked their batteries, blew up one in Ance D'Arlette, and threw their guns over the cliff: Captain Crozier was severely wounded.

A schooner privateer, with her prize, was lying at anchor in the harbour of Marin-bay, while Captain Graves, in the Blenheim, was cruising off there, and he determined to cut her out. The harbour is very strongly defended by forts, particularly one

called Dunkirk, on the starboard hand: this was taken by storm, by Lieutenants Beattie and Boyd, of the royal marines, with a party of their men, who entering the fort with fixed bayonets, the enemy instantly cried for quarter. The capture of this place ensured in some degree the success of the remainder of the enterprise.

The boats, led by Captain Ferris of the Drake, pushed on, and took the schooner by boarding; she mounted four carriage guns, and had on board only forty-four men at the time of her capture, many having escaped to the shore. The guns of Fort Dunkirk, six twenty-four pounders, and eighteen three pounders, were spiked; the carriages and ammunition thrown into the sea. One British seaman was killed, and four wounded.

Lieutenant Domet, in the Vigilant tender, burnt a schooner in Ance de Serron, and destroyed the battery of Chateau Margot, of three eighteen pounders, and came off without the loss of a man.

In the month of February, Lieutenant Carr, in the Eclair schooner, of ten guns and sixty men, engaged the Grande Decidé, a French privateer, of twenty-two nine pounders and two hundred and thirty men; the action having lasted three-quarters of an hour, the enemy fled.

Mr. Salmon, master of the Eclair, with the surgeon and ten men, in a six-oared cutter, boarded a schooner privateer, under the batteries of Guadaloupe, and brought her out. She mounted one brass nine pounder, and had fifty men.

About the same time the boats of the Emerald frigate, commanded by Captain James O'Brien, were sent into the road of St. Pierre, Martinique, to cut out a schooner, lying under cover of the batteries. Lieutenant (now Captain) Thomas Forrest, who conducted the enterprise, laid the enemy on board; and though she was moored with a chain to the shore, and he had to sustain the fire of the fort, he brought her out: she proved to be La Mosambique, of ten guns and sixty men. Lieutenant Forrest had only twenty men with him. We regret that it is not in our power to devote more space to the numerous instances of valour displayed by our young officers, on this and other foreign stations.

From what has been seen of the vigilance and success of our cruisers, and the miserable state of the French garrisons, mowed down by sickness, famine, and the sword, their evacuation of St. Domingo was an event that might have been anticipated. They still held Cape François, Cape Nicholas Mole, and the city of St. Domingo; the former was blockaded by Commodore Loring, in the Bellerophon, who, in November, 1803, received proposals of capitulation from General Rochambeau. The enemy, though in the deepest distress, were not less extravagant in their demands; they required a free passage in their own ships of war to France! This of course was refused, and they soon after surrendered to the British forces, as the only means of saving themselves from destruction.

General Rochambeau, previously to sending these proposals to our officers, had entered into terms of capitulation with the black General Dessalines, to whom he was to deliver up the Cape, with all the forts, ordnance stores, and ammunition.

Dessalines, at the head of his troops, having made an attack upon the town, had brought the French to these terms, and compelled them to retire to their ships; but their escape from the English cruisers was still to be accomplished. The French General had the permission of the blacks to retire, but the English prevented him. It is but just to acknowledge, that he was most unfortunately situated; contending, at the same time, against two distinct enemies; the one, cruel and merciless; the other, daring and vigilant: both seeking his destruction or capture, but with very different views. It would therefore be unfair to impute to the General disgraceful motives for his conduct: he had contended as long as he could, under every privation, and surrendered at last only to save the lives of his few brave followers. His double negotiation was probably intended to ensure his escape to France; this he hoped to effect in the bad weather, which had for some time kept our ships at a distance.

The colours of the blacks were in the mean time displayed on the forts; and Commodore Loring sent Captain Bligh, of the Theseus, to know the sentiments of General Dessalines respecting General Rochambeau and his troops. On

his entering the harbour, he met Commodore Barré, a French naval officer, who pressed him in very strong terms, to go on board the Surveillante, and enter into some capitulation which would put them under BRITISH PROTECTION, and prevent the blacks from sinking them with red hot shot, as they had threatened, and were preparing to do. Captain Bligh complying with the request, a few articles were hastily drawn up, which he signed, under an agreement that they should bear his own interpretation on their arrival at Jamaica. After this he hastened to acquaint General Dessalines, that all the ships in the harbour had surrendered to his Majesty's arms, and with great difficulty he obtained the promise of the General, not to fire on them while they lay in the harbour.

Captain Loring applied to General Dessalines for pilots, to conduct the British ships into the harbour to take possession of the French. To this Dessalines replied, "That he could not send him pilots, but that he would oblige the French to quit the port; and then," he added, "you may do with them as you please."

They came out under French colours; our ships fired a shot over them, to which they returned a harmless broadside and surrendered.

The names of the ships taken were the

La Surveillante	44 guns.
La Clorinde	38 ——
La Vertu	38 ——

with various other vessels, some loaded with colonial produce, and some in ballast.

The conduct of General Rochambeau was considered so highly reprehensible during his command, that the British naval officers would not associate with him. Sir John Duckworth, in his public despatch, accuses him of participating in the cruelties which had been practised upon the blacks: and it cannot be denied, that the French, after the explosion of civil discord, were never very scrupulous as to the means they employed to suppress rebellion.

Cape Nicholas Mole still held out, under the command of General Noailles; but in the month of December, being anxious to secure himself from the incursions of the negroes, he evacuated the place without notice.

Of General Noailles, Count Dumas relates a most unintelligible story, respecting his boarding and taking a British sloop of war: date, name of ship and captain, with every necessary particular, are very wisely suppressed. As the story is not worth refuting, it may suffice to say, that the affair never happened. See *Précis Militaires*, tom. viii. p. 338.

Thus the adventures of the French army in Hispaniola and their final expulsion ended, with the exception of a few troops in the city of St. Domingo and St. Jago; and the ruin of that beautiful colony, with the murder of nearly half a million of people, may be justly attributed to the

folly of the National Convention, and the cruelty of Napoleon Bonaparte. M. Dupin (vol. i. p. 149.) says, that, in two years, out of sixty thousand troops, fifty-seven thousand five hundred died of fever. What number fell by the sword he does not inform us; but even this statement may serve to shew what losses France sustained by the enterprise.

The lamentable condition of St. Domingo calls for a few observations. In advocating the abolition of the slave trade, we follow the dictates of religion, of reason, and sound policy; but we go no farther. We join in no condemnation of the West India planters, whose humanity to their slaves we have often witnessed. The planters have long been the victims of a mistaken policy and false philanthropy: their property, hitherto a source of wealth to themselves and their country, and a nursery for seamen, is now a millstone about their necks. Negro emancipation can only be safely conceded by their gradual acquisition of wealth; and by this means the free negroes, the best and most loyal, because the most industrious, are daily increasing in number without danger to the state. Any other mode can only produce those evils which we have seen and described in St. Domingo; and will inevitably end in the destruction of the planters, and replunging the unhappy blacks into the lowest abyss of human degradation.

CHAP. IX.

Overtures of Bonaparte to the northern powers—Bombardment of the enemy's port of Granville—Flotilla intercepted—Projects of invasion—Proclamation of Admiral Bruix—Rebellion in Ireland—Naval force and power of Great Britain—Disposition of the squadrons—Captain Winthorp destroys a French frigate—Loss of the Shannon on the coast of France—Of the Apollo and her convoy on the coast of Portugal—Capture and recapture of Goree—Mr. Pitt's motion in the house of commons on naval defence—Captain Wolfe destroys two French corvettes—Capture of La Blonde—Conspiracy of Moreau and Pichegru—Death of the Duke D'Enghien—Capture of the Vincejo, and murder of Captain Wright—Intrigues of Napoleon, which led to the seizure of Spanish treasures—Bombardment of French ports—Capture of three Spanish frigates—Destruction of the Mercedas—Death of the family of Alvear—War with Spain—Account of treasure—Captain Henniker attacks flotilla—Loss of the Venerable.

BONAPARTE, when his plans for renewing the war had been detected, sent off General Duroc to Berlin, and Colonel Colbert to St. Petersburgh. Not satisfied with the neutrality of these powers, he wished to engage them in active war against Great Britain; but the emperor and king were awake to their true interests. Alexander had seen the fate of his father, and Frederic had penetration enough to know that the subjugation of England, by aggrandizing the power of France, would overturn the liberties of Europe. Both the am-

bassadors therefore returned with the same kind of answer: their Majesties had no wish to interfere in the quarrel. Bonaparte pretended to rest all his glory in being taken by surprise; yet his insolent observations to Lord Whitworth, and his remarks on the invasion of Malta and Egypt, decided the British cabinet in its course, and produced the message of the 8th of March to the parliament; and on the reappearance of Lord Whitworth at the court of the Tuilleries, Bonaparte addressed him in that memorable and impolitic harangue which has been so often presented to the public.

In the month of September, Sir James Saumarez having hoisted his flag on board the Cerberus, of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Selby, took under his orders the Charwell sloop of war, with the Terror and Sulphur bombs, and proceeded off Granville, in the pier of which place the enemy had collected a number of gun-vessels. Sir James approached so near the town as to have only sixteen feet at low water; and the Terror bomb, commanded by Captain Hardinge, actually grounded, but that inestimable officer soon after got his ship off, and placed her in the position assigned by his admiral. Captain M'Leod, in the Sulphur, from the bad sailing of his ship, had little share in this day's action; but a severe bombardment taught the enemy to respect the British flag. On the following morning the two bomb-vessels were accurately placed, and opened a well-directed

fire, which lasted from five o'clock till half-past ten. Twenty-two gun-vessels came out of the pier, and fired at the bombs, without doing any execution. The tide falling, the Rear-admiral was compelled to withdraw; and in his retreat the Cerberus grounded, and remained three hours on the bank. Nine of the gun-boats attacked her, but were soon compelled to desist, by the fire from the Charwell and Kite, and the other small vessels of the squadron. The enemy's works were very strong, yet it does not appear that our ships received any damage, either from them or their flotilla.

In the month of November, Captain (now Sir James) Dunbar, in the Poulette, of twenty guns, fell in, near Alderney, with a French convoy of about thirty sail, escorted by several gun-vessels. He instantly gave chase, and coming up with them as they rounded Cape La Hogue, compelled them to run upon the rocks, or to anchor near them. Sending in his boats, he brought out three vessels, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy from the shore: the others were left dry at low water. The vessels captured were not armed, but of a description similar to those assembled at Boulogne, whither they were bound. In this manner scarcely a week passed in which our inshore cruisers were not engaged with the enemy; yet, in spite of the most active and daring exertions, the flotilla in the ports of Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and Vimereux, increased in number in a very surprising manner; while the armies of the repub-

lic, encamped on the heights over those places, gave confirmation to the threats uttered by the Chief Consul to Lord Whitworth. Despard's conspiracy, in the meanwhile, and the rebellion in Ireland, concurred to fill the public mind with dismay, and call forth the unanimous efforts of all parties to repel the common enemy.

The proclamation of Admiral Bruix, on taking the command of the Boulogne flotilla, was consistent with the cause in which, by order of Bonaparte, he was to have been engaged, and probably immolated.

Brave sailors!—The choice of Bonaparte renders me worthy of marching at your head; your zeal and your valour assure me that we shall fulfil his expectations. Already you hear the cries of vengeance; every Frenchman would march to punish a government, the enemy of the repose of the world. Look at their ships prolonging their insolent cruises on our coast. At the sight of your labours let them go and tell their government, that a terrible day is approaching; the winds and the sea, once more favourable to the *Conqueror of Egypt*, may, in a few hours, convey him to their shores, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory. The tyrants of the seas will be conquered by *terror*, without awaiting the appeal to arms.

The rebellion in Ireland, which exploded in July, headed by the infamous Emmett, was announced to parliament by the following proclamation:—

GEORGE R.

His Majesty feels the deepest regret in acquainting the house of commons, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin.

His Majesty relies, with perfect confidence, on the wisdom of his parliament, that such measures will be forthwith adopted as are best calculated to afford protection and security to his Majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the United Kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity.

Under these impending dangers, the stoutest hearts in Britain could not, without gloomy apprehension, anticipate a contest, which, though it might tend to our glory, was certain of producing much calamity to the empire. The Count de Dumas justly observes, that whether Bonaparte intended or not to put his threats in execution, the camps formed on the French coast, and the flotillas which accompanied them, kept a vast portion of our navy in idleness, and prevented its being employed in a manner more to our advantage, and more destructive to the commerce of the enemy. At the end of 1803, he erroneously states our force at one hundred and ninety-four ships of the line, twenty-five of fifty guns, one hundred and eighteen frigates, two hundred and ninety sloops, brigs, and cutters; making seven hundred and thirty-four sail of vessels of war, commanding the seas, and regulating the commerce of all nations, according to our views and interests. With these, he says, we retook all the colonies in the West Indies, which we had given up at the peace of Amiens, blockaded all the great ports and mouths of rivers from the Categat to the Dardanelles; and concludes with an admirable account of our line of offensive operations; in which, however, he

has made some omissions, and is mistaken in the names of some of the commanders, which we have rectified.

"Rear-admiral Thornborough was off the Texel and the mouths of the Scheldt. Lord Keith in the Downs, as commander-in-chief of the North Seas. Sir Sidney Smith off Ostend and Dunkirk. Captain Owen from Calais to St. Valery. Captain Oliver from thence to Cherbourg. Sir James Saumarez at Guernsey and Jersey. Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant with the Channel fleet. Sir Edward Pellew off Corunna. Sir Robert Calder off Ferrol. Nelson in the Mediterranean, watching the coast from Cadiz to the Northern Archipelago of the Levant. And while the British flag was triumphant in Europe and America, the shores of India were reduced to the same dependance. After the destruction of Tippoo Saib, and the humiliation of the Mahrattas (the Scythians of India), and the capture of Poonah, their capital city, the whole peninsula within the Ganges fell into our possession."

Such is the picture of the power of the British empire drawn by a foreigner in the beginning of the nineteenth century. "Yet with all this amazing preponderance of strength," he says, "the pigmy flotilla gave us serious alarm and uneasiness."

In November, Captain Winthorp, in the Ardent of sixty-four guns, chased, and drove on shore, a French frigate, of thirty-two guns and two hundred men, near Cape Finisterre: she was called

La Bayonnaise. The French set her on fire, to prevent her falling into our hands.

In December, 1803, the Shannon, a new frigate of thirty-six guns, cruising on the coast of France, was run on shore near Cape La Hogue, under the batteries of Tatihoue Island. The crew were made prisoners, and marched into the interior; and the enemy preparing to get the ship off, were prevented by the zeal and enterprise of two young officers, Lieutenants John Sheridan and Henry C. Thompson (now Captains), who, with a select band of men from a sloop of war, boarded her in the night, and set her on fire. The forts opening upon them, continued a heavy but ineffectual discharge of artillery, and they returned to their ship without a man being hurt. At daylight not a vestige of the frigate remained above water. The loss of this ship may be easily accounted for. She stood from Cape La Heve towards La Hogue, with a gale of wind at S. S. W.; as she approached the latter, the tide took her under the lee-bow, and carried her up towards the river of Isigny, and when the Captain supposed himself to the northward of Cape Barfleur, he had that light-house bearing about north. The night was extremely dark and tempestuous: the Merlin sloop of war, which was in company, made the land about eight o'clock, in a flash of lightning, and instantly wore, under her foresail and close-reefed main-topsail. About this time the Shannon must have grounded. The crew were all saved by the

French, but made prisoners; and on the release of the Captain, he was acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial.

The loss of the Apollo of thirty-six guns, Captain J. W. T. Dixon, was a more melancholy event than any other of the kind which it has been our painful duty to relate.

This ship, and the Carysfort of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Fanshawe, sailed from Cork with about seventy sail of merchantmen, bound to the West Indies. The wind heading them when to the southward of Cape Finisterre, the Commodore continued on the starboard tack, standing in for the land. Captain Fanshawe, it appears, with a part of the fleet, wore, after dark, without signal, and arrived safely at Barbadoes; but about forty sail continuing with the Apollo, ran on shore.

The following narrative is by an officer who was on board the Apollo:—

Monday, the 26th of March, sailed from the Cove of Cork, in company with his Majesty's ship Carysfort, and sixty-nine sail of merchant-ships, under convoy for the West Indies. Sunday the 1st of April, at noon, observed in latitude 40 deg. 51 min. North, longitude per account, 12 deg. 29 min. West: at eight o'clock on Sunday evening the wind shifted to the S. W. blowing fresh; course S. S. E. At ten, up mainsail, and set the main-staysail. At a quarter past ten, the main-staysail split by the sheet giving way; called all hands upon deck. At half-past ten, strong breezes and squally, took in the fore-topsail, and set the foresail. At half-past eleven the main-topsail split; furled it, and the mainsail. The ship was now under her foresail, main and mizen storm staysails; blowing hard, with a heavy sea.

About half-past three on Monday morning, the 2d, the ship struck the ground, to the astonishment of every one on board, and by the above reckoning, we then conjectured upon an unknown shoal. She continued striking the ground very heavy several times, by which her bottom was materially damaged, and making much water; the chain pumps were rigged with the utmost despatch, and the men began to pump; but in about ten minutes she beat and drove over the shoal. On endeavouring to steer her, found the rudder carried away—she then got before the wind; the pumps were kept going, but from the quantity of water she shipped, there was every probability of her soon foundering, as she was filling, and sinking very fast.

After running about five minutes, the ship struck the ground again, with such tremendous shocks, that we were fearful she would instantly go to pieces, and kept striking and driving farther on the sands, the sea making breaches completely over her. Cut away the lanyards of the main and mizen rigging, and the masts fell with a tremendous crash, over the larboard side; the fore-mast went immediately after. The ship then fell on her starboard side, with the gunwale under water. The violence with which she struck the ground, and the weight of the guns, those on the quarter-deck tearing away the bulwarks, soon made the ship a perfect wreck abaft; only four or five guns could possibly be fired to alarm the convoy, and give notice of danger. On her striking the second time, most pitiful cries were heard every where between decks, many of the men giving themselves up to inevitable death. I was told that I might as well stay below, as there was an equal likelihood of perishing if I got upon deck. I was determined to go, but first attempted to enter my cabin, and was in danger of having my legs broke, by the chests floating about, and the bulkheads were giving way; I therefore desisted, and endeavoured to get upon deck, which I effected, after being several times washed down the hatchway, by the immense volume of water incessantly pouring down. The ship still beating the ground very heavy, made it necessary to cling fast to some part of the wreck, to prevent being washed by the surges, or hurled by the dreadful concussions, overboard; the people holding fast by the larboard bulwark of the quarter-deck, and in the main channels, while our good captain stood naked upon the cabin skylight grating, holding fast by the stump of the mizen-mast, and making use of

every soothing expression which could have been suggested to encourage men in such a perilous situation. Most of the officers and men were entirely naked, not having time even to slip on a pair of trowsers.—Our horrible situation every moment became more dreadful; until daylight appearing, about half-past four o'clock, discovered to us the land, at about two cables' length distance, a long, sandy beach, reaching to Cape Mondego, three leagues to the southward of us. On daylight clearing up, we could perceive between twenty and thirty sail of the convoy ashore, both to the northward and southward, and several of them perfect wrecks. We were now certain of being on the coast of Portugal, from seeing the above cape, though, I am sorry to say, no person in the ship had the least idea of being so near that coast. It blowing hard, and a very great swell of the sea (or what is generally termed waves running mountains high), there was little prospect of being saved. About eight o'clock, there being every likelihood of the ship going to pieces, and the after-part lying lowest, Captain Dixon ordered every person forward; which it was very difficult to comply with, from the motion of the main-mast working on the larboard gunwale, there being no other way to get forward. Mr. Cook, the boatswain, had his thigh broke, in endeavouring to get a boat over the side; of six fine boats not one was saved, being all stove, and washed overboard with the booms, &c. Soon after the people got forward the ship parted at the gangways. The crew were now obliged to stow themselves in the fore channels, and from thence to the bowsprit end, to the number of two hundred and twenty; for out of two hundred and forty persons on board when the ship first struck, I suppose twenty to have previously perished between decks and otherwise. Mr. Lawton, the gunner, the first person who attempted to swim ashore, was drowned; afterward Lieutenant Wilson, Mr. Rance, surgeon, Mr. M'Cabe, surgeon's mate, Mr. Standley, master's mate, and several men shared the same fate, by reason of the sea breaking in enormous surges over them, though excellent swimmers. About thirty persons had the good fortune to reach the shore, upon planks and spars, among whom were Lieutenant Harvey, and Mr. Callam, master's mate. Monday night our situation was truly horrid, the old men and boys dying through hunger and fatigue, also Mr. Proby and Mr. Hayes, midshipmen. Captain Dixon remained all this night upon the bowsprit.

Tuesday morning presented us no better prospect of being relieved from the jaws of death; the wind blowing stronger, and the sea much more turbulent. About noon, this day, our drooping spirits were somewhat raised by seeing Lieut. Harvey, and Mr. Callam, hoisting out a boat from one of the merchant-ships, to come to the assistance of their distressed shipmates. They several times attempted to launch her through the surf, but being a very heavy boat, and the sea on the beach acting so powerfully against them, they could not possibly effect it, though assisted by nearly one hundred men of the merchant sailors, and Portuguese peasants. Several men went upon rafts this day, made from pieces of the wreck, but not one soul reached the shore; the wind having shifted and the current setting out, they were all driven to sea; among whom was our Captain, who, about three in the afternoon, went on the jib-boom with three seamen: anxious to save the remainder of the ship's company, and too sanguine of getting safe on shore, he ventured upon the spar, saying, on jumping into the sea,—"My lads, I'll save you all." In a few seconds he lost his hold of the spar, which he could not regain; he drifted to sea, and perished. Such was also the fate of the three brave volunteers who chose to share his fortune.

The loss of our Captain, who, until now, had animated the almost lifeless crew; as well as the noble exertions of Lieut. Harvey and Mr. Callam, to launch the boat, not succeeding;—every gleam of hope vanished, and we looked forward for certain death the ensuing night, not only from cold, hunger, and fatigue, but the expectation of the remaining part of the wreck going to pieces every moment. Had not the Apollo been a new and well-built ship, that small portion of her could not have so long resisted the waves, and stuck so well together, particularly as all the after-part from the chess-trees was gone, the starboard bow under water, the forecastle deck nearly perpendicular, the weight of the guns hanging to the larboard bulwark on the inside; and the bower and spare anchors on the outside, which it was not prudent to cut away, as they afforded resting places to a considerable number of men, there being only the fore channels, and cathead, where it was possible to live in, and about which, were stowed upwards of one hundred and fifty men; it being impracticable to continue any longer in the head, or upon the bowsprit, by reason of the breakers washing completely over those places. The night drawing on, the wind increasing, fre-

quent showers of rain, the sea washing over us, and looking every instant for the forecastle giving way, when we must have all perished together, afforded a spectacle truly deplorable; the bare recollection of which even now makes me shudder. The piercing cries of the people this dismal night, at every sea coming over them, which happened every two minutes, were pitiful in the extreme; the water running from the head down all over the body, keeping us continually wet. This shocking night, the remaining strength of every person was exerted for his individual safety. From the crowding so close together, in so narrow a compass, and the want of something to moisten their mouths, several poor wretches were suffocated; which frequently reminded me of the Black Hole, with this only difference, that those poor sufferers were confined by strong walls, we by water; the least movement without clinging fast, would have launched us into eternity. Some unfortunate wretches drank salt water, several their own urine, some chewed leather, myself and many more chewed lead; from which we conceived we found considerable relief, by reason of its drawing the saliva, which we swallowed. In less than an hour after the ship first struck the ground, all the provisions were under water, and the ship a wreck, so that it was impossible to procure any part.—After the most painful night that it is possible to conceive, on daylight appearing, we observed Lieut. Harvey and Mr. Callam again endeavouring to launch the boat. Several attempts were made without success, a number of men belonging to the merchant-ships being much bruised and hurt in assisting; alternate hopes and fears now pervaded our wretched minds; fifteen men got safe on shore this morning on pieces of the wreck. About three in the afternoon of Wednesday the 4th, we had the inexpressible happiness of seeing the boat launched through the surf, by the indefatigable exertions of the above officers, assisted by the masters of the merchant-ships, with a number of Portuguese peasants, who were encouraged by Mr. Whitney, the British Consul, from Figueras. All the crew then remaining on the wreck were brought safe on shore, praising God for a happy deliverance from a shipwreck which has never had its parallel. As soon as I stept out of the boat, I found several persons whose humanity prompted them to offer me sustenance, though improperly in spirits, which I avoided as much as possible. Our weak state may be conceived, when it is considered that we re-

ceived no nourishment from Sunday to Wednesday afternoon, and continually exposed to the fury of the watery element. After eating and drinking a little, I found myself weaker than before, occasioned, I apprehend, from having been so long without either. Some men died soon after getting on shore, from imprudently drinking too large a quantity of spirits. All the crew were in a very weak and exhausted state, the greater part being badly bruised and wounded. About forty sail of merchant-ships were wrecked at the same time on this dreadful beach. Some ships sunk with all their crew, and almost every ship lost from two to twelve men each; yet the situation of the remainder was not equal to that of the frigate's ship's company; as the merchant-ships drawing a less draught of water, were mostly driven close on shore, and no person remained on board them after the first morning. The masters of the merchant-ships had tents upon the beach, and some provisions they had saved from the wrecks, which they very generously distributed, and gave every assistance to the Apollo's ship's company. Thus was lost one of the finest frigates in the British navy, with sixty-one of her crew. The number of souls lost in the merchant-ships, was also very considerable. Dead bodies were every day floating ashore, and pieces of wreck covered the beach upwards of ten miles in extent.

The remaining officers and crew of the Apollo, had to march to Figueras, a distance of eighteen miles, whence they were conveyed in a schooner to Lisbon, and brought to Portsmouth by the Orpheus frigate, Captain Hill. Mr. Manly, with many of the officers and men, were on the wreck seventy-six hours, without the least sustenance. The names of the officers saved were—Lieutenants W. H. Douglas and E. Harvey; G. Ramsden, master; W. Manly, purser; J. Pope, carpenter; Captain Myers, of the 15th regiment, who was going passenger to Barbadoes; Messrs. Callam, master's mate, Matthews, Walker, Crouch, Ramsden, and Roper, midshipmen; E. Lewis, clerk; seventy-six men and six boys; and Lieutenant J. Campbell, and eight marines.

Officers and men lost.—Captain Dixon; Lieutenant C. Wilson; Rance, surgeon; Lawton, gunner; Stanley, mate; Proby and Hayes, midshipmen; M'Cabe, surgeon's mate; forty men, seven boys, five marines, and one servant.

"In the month of January, 1804, the settlement of Goree was attacked by a French squadron from Senegal, carrying a force very far superior to that which the brave garrison, under the command of Captain Frazer, could oppose to them. Having effected a landing, they proceeded to storm the works; but were received with so much valour, that they hesitated, until reinforced with a body of infantry. The firing recommenced with such fury as to compel the little garrison to capitulate, and the French took possession of the place, with an inconsiderable loss on our side, and much slaughter on theirs.

Short was the triumph of the foe: two months had scarcely elapsed, before Captain E. S. Dickson, in the Inconstant, of thirty-six guns, with the Eagle, a store-ship from England, and some small vessels, approached the island. Captain Dickson, judging from circumstances, that the place might be in the hands of the enemy, although British colours were flying, sent Lieutenant Pickford on shore to ascertain the fact, while he anchored with the squadron out of gun-shot. The Lieutenant not returning, nor making the signal agreed on, Captain Dickson despatched Mr. Runciman, a midshipman, with three boats, well-manned and armed, to cut out any vessels he might find in the harbour. This gallant young officer acquitted himself nobly, bringing out a ship, under a heavy fire from the battery, which sunk one of his boats: by this means Captain Dickson acquired a knowledge

of the events which had taken place, and learned that the French garrison consisted of three hundred troops, white and black. While he was preparing to attack the place, at daylight in the morning of the 9th of March, he perceived British colours displayed on the fort over French, and soon after, Lieutenant Pickford came off and informed him that the garrison had capitulated. The defence made by the French governor, Mons. Montmeyer, was not so honourable as that which had been shewn by Captain Frazer, with not half the number of troops against a much superior enemy.

On the 15th of March, 1804, Mr. Pitt made his motion in the house of commons on the naval defence of the country, which was negatived by a large majority. It was on this occasion that he made those remarks on the naval administration of Earl St. Vincent, which his Lordship never forgave, and which produced his letter to Admiral Cornwallis, of which we shall speak hereafter.

On the 16th of July, Captain Wolfe, in the Aigle, of thirty-six guns, drove on shore, near the Cordouan lighthouse, two French corvettes, La Charente, of twenty-four guns and one hundred men, and La Joie, of twelve guns and seventy men. Being unable to bring them off he burnt them.

On the 17th of August, Captain Maitland, of his Majesty's ship La Loire, cruising in the bay of Biscay, under the orders of Lord Gardner, the commander-in-chief at Cork, fell in with the French

frigate privateer La Blonde, which, after a chase of twenty hours, he captured. The enemy sustained an action with the Loire for about fifteen minutes, and then surrendered, with seven of her men severely wounded. This vessel, which had done considerable injury to our trade, mounted thirty guns, long nine pounders, and had two hundred and twenty men.

It would be foreign to our purpose to enter into the secret intrigues of the courts of Europe, of which we cannot pretend to know any thing but from the official papers laid before the public. Our government was accused of using the agency of accredited ministers to stir up dissensions between the northern powers and France. Whether these measures were originally aggressions on our part, or only retaliations for the conduct of the French in Ireland, is a question we cannot decide. Mr. Wickham, Mr. Drake, and Mr. Spencer Smith, the first our minister to the Swiss Cantons, the second to Bavaria, the last at Wurtzberg, were charged with exciting and fomenting those discontents which led to the expedition of Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, and others, to destroy the head of the French government, and restore the house of Bourbon. The discovery of these intrigues was made the pretext for the seizure, in the neutral territory of Baden, of the gallant young Duke D'Enghien, and for his foul murder in the ditch of the castle of Vincennes, where the muskets of the assassins having failed

in despatching their victim, a large stone was applied to beat out his brains. This was an act which the splendour of the imperial mantle could not save from execration, and which a just Providence has punished as it deserved. The death of that amiable young prince was followed by the arrest of Pichegru, his suicide, and the execution of his associates. Before their trial was concluded, another murder contributed to render the name of Napoleon still more hateful to the ear of an Englishman.

Among the naval officers who had been employed by the British government in carrying on the secret correspondence of the royalists, and landing their partisans on the coast of France, was Captain Wright, of the Vincejo sloop of war, a young officer of great talent and courage, and who had been the friend and companion of Sir Sidney Smith.

Napoleon knew every thing. His police, more vigilant than that of De Sartines, was well apprised of all the attempts about to be made on his life and authority; gaining perhaps their knowledge from some of the very accomplices of the conspirators. The Vincejo was watched in all her manœuvres, and on the 14th of May, a strong division of gun-boats, from the Morbihan, attacked her in Quiberon-bay, in a calm; when after a severe action, his guns dismounted, two of his men killed, twelve wounded, and his vessel a mere wreck, Captain Wright surrendered to a force greatly superior. He was

conducted to Paris, and was confined a prisoner in the Temple, where he ended his days, under circumstances which have subjected Napoleon to the suspicion of murder, from which his best friends and ablest advocates have never been able to clear him. The Captain was *found* dead in his bed, with his throat cut; and it was given out, that he had destroyed himself, on hearing of some reverses of the Austrians; but this is most improbable. He observed to a friend, that he should never come out of the Temple alive; that his death would be imputed to suicide, and begged that justice might be done to his memory. Bonaparte has been defended by some of his apologists for having *committed* the act, as Wright had plotted to destroy him: but, if we admit this, why was he not openly brought to trial? From the best information we were able to obtain at Paris, and with the strongest collateral evidence, we must ever believe that he was murdered. The most probable supposition is, that he had been subjected to torture in order to extort confession, and having been treated in this cruel manner, it was decided that he should not live to tell the tale.

Wright was known to play well on the flute, and, on the day preceding his death, had been heard by a fellow-prisoner passing a solitary hour in this amusement. At midnight the door of his cell was opened, men were heard to enter, a scuffle ensued, but no screaming, the cries of the wretched man being prevented. In the morning he was found

lying on his back in bed, the bloody razor on his pillow, the coverlet above his chin, his arms extended by his sides under the bed-clothes, his throat cut from ear to ear, and the carotid artery divided. Could he have done all this himself, placing the razor, and laying his hands as they were found? This story the author had from two distinct sources, at different periods. It is however but fair and candid to acknowledge, that the late Earl of St. Vincent always maintained that his death was *not* the act of *Bonaparte*, or done by his order.

So vast was the influence, so powerful the resources, possessed by Napoleon, both in the cabinet and in the field, that neither Spain nor any other power on the continent of Europe, had the means of resistance against this modern hydra. England alone, by her navy, was enabled to cope with him, and consequently remained the sole object of his rancorous hatred and implacable revenge. That Spain would be drawn into the war against us, became evident from the moment the first shot was fired by France; nor could all the arguments of our ministers persuade the feeble cabinet of Madrid, that France sought to enslave, and not to save her. This truth soon became apparent, and the unhappy Charles IV. and his family, have felt the fatal effects of imperial perfidy. As the continent of Europe lay at his feet, Napoleon madly hoped, that an invasion of Britain would place her in the same degrading situation.

The speech from the throne, at the meeting of the parliament in 1804, after briefly adverting to the above topics, stated his Majesty's determination to resist the machinations and efforts of the enemy for the subversion of our liberties. The address was carried unanimously, and the whole nation seemed resolved to rush to the sea-shore to repel the invaders, the instant the devoted fleet should quit the ports of France. However deep and clear-sighted Napoleon may have been considered by his admirers, he was frequently outwitted by his great political opponent, Mr. Pitt, who counteracted his movements, and turned his weapons against his own bosom. The flotilla collected, or preparing, from the Texel to Morlaix, drew on the sea-port towns of France and Belgium, the vengeance of insulted Britain. The bombardment of Ostend and Calais, of Dieppe, Boulogne, Havre-de-Grace, Granville, and Morlaix, convinced the unfortunate inhabitants of those places, that it was not on British ground their blood was to be shed; and the forced contributions levied by Napoleon and his prefects for the purpose of invasion, were still more reluctantly furnished, when it was discovered to what use a part had been applied, and how the remainder was likely to be disposed of. Taxes, when levied in England, are given to the services of the state, but in this instance in France, where the most unjust and violent measures of intimidation were resorted to, the money was diverted from the services of

the nation to the pockets of individuals. The treasures of Spain, as well as of France, were required by Napoleon to fill his exhausted coffers, to lay waste the last abode of freedom in Europe, and to satisfy the cravings of a merciless military despotism. Under conviction of this state of things, and acting from information which could not be doubted, Mr. Pitt ordered the seizure of the Spanish treasure, on its way from the new world to the old, and transferred the abundant supply from its intended receptacle to the pockets of our sailors, and to the service of the state.

We have seen, in a former volume, the Spanish government reduced to the necessity, in time of war, of begging permission from the British admiral at Gibraltar, to allow of their treasure being brought home; and the request was even backed by Lord St. Vincent, under a conviction, that without such a supply, Spain must inevitably be revolutionized by France. Political speculations appear to have undergone some change between that period and the one now under consideration. Spain, in a state of revolution, might have been more favourable to England than she could have been under the weak government of Ferdinand. Mr. Pitt has not been so much blamed for the act of intercepting the Spanish supply, as for the manner of doing it. A sufficient force (objectors say) ought to have been sent, in order to ensure an immediate surrender: but those who make this assertion, should recollect the wide space on which our navy was to

act, and how many important points we had to guard with an inadequate force. As many ships were placed under the orders of Captain Moore, as the exigencies of the service would permit.

This gallant officer, whose substantial merit could receive no additional lustre from our praises, was serving under the orders of Admiral Cornwallis, the Commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, by whom he was detached on this important and highly confidential service. It appears to have been supposed by ministers, that the Spanish Rear-admiral would have been induced to capitulate to the British forces; but this idea, if ever entertained, was surely unreasonable, since no man of honour could surrender to a force apparently equal, and the Spanish officer appears not to have been unworthy of the confidence reposed in him.

When Captain Moore, in pursuance of his orders, had arrived off Cadiz in the Indefatigable, on the morning of the 29th of September, he fell in with the Medusa of thirty-two guns, and learned from Captain Gore, that Sir Robert Barlow, in the Triumph, was going into Cadiz to take charge of the trade bound from thence to England. Despatching Captain Gore to Sir Robert, to apprise him of the nature of his instructions, Captain Moore proceeded off Cape St. Mary's, where he directed the Medusa and Amphion to join him as soon as possible. This they effected on the 3rd of October, and found the Lively of thirty-eight guns,

with the Indefatigable. Two days after this junction, on the 5th, at daylight, the Medusa made the signal for four sail bearing west by south; Cape St. Mary's bearing N. E. about nine leagues. A general chase was immediately ordered; and on the approach of our ships the strangers were discovered to be Spanish frigates, formed in a line of battle ahead, and steering for Cadiz; the van ship carrying a broad pendant, and the second the flag of a rear-admiral. * Captain Gore, in the Medusa, placed his ship on the weather-beam of the first, and Captain Moore took a similar position alongside of the second; the Amphion, Captain Sutton, and the Lively, Captain Hammond, each taking an opponent in the same order. Captain Moore hailed the Rear-admiral, and desired him to shorten sail; but to this he paid no attention, until a shot from the Indefatigable passed under his bowsprit, on which he hove to, and Lieutenant Ascott was sent to inform him, that the British commanding officer had orders to detain him and his squadron, which he hoped to do without bloodshed. An immediate answer was desired. The officer having waited some time, Captain Moore recalled him by signal, fired a shot ahead of the Admiral, and ran down close upon his weather-bow. At this moment the third frigate from the van fired into the Amphion, and the Rear-admiral fired into the Indefatigable, when Captain Moore made the signal for close action. The Spanish Rear-admiral, who had his flag in the

Medée, struck to the Indefatigable in about half an hour; as did the Fama to the Lively. The Spanish Commodore, in the Santa Clara, engaging the Medusa, seeing the day was lost, attempted to escape, and would probably have succeeded, had not the Lively, after securing the Fama, gone in pursuit of him, in obedience to a signal from Captain Moore. Hammond, as he drew near, kept the Clara well on his lee-bow, while his own fore-topmast studding-sail was drawing. Perceiving that he was far enough advanced on the weather-beam of his enemy to make sure of him, he put his helm up, and brought him to close and severe action; which lasted fifty minutes; after which the Spaniard, having fifty men killed and wounded, hauled down his colours, and the action ended with the capture of three Spanish frigates, and the loss of one.

Captain Sutton in the Amphion, having taken his station close to leeward of his opponent, the Mercedes, the third ship from the van, had not been above ten minutes in action, when the unfortunate Spaniard blew up; the wreck and splinters covering the decks of the British frigate, and severely wounding one or two of the men. The forecastle of the Mercedes, torn from the hull, floated, and upon it the second Captain and forty men, the only survivors, saved themselves, and were taken off by the boats of the Amphion, whose fortunate position enabled her to perform this act of humanity, while at the same time she prevented

the Spanish Rear-admiral from running away. Among the victims on board the Mercedes, were the wife and seven children (chiefly daughters nearly grown up) of Captain Alvear, of the Spanish navy. This good and gallant officer, after a residence of thirty years in South America, was returning to spend the remainder of his days in his native country. He did not command either of the frigates, but having procured a passage for his family in the Mercedes, went with his eldest son on board of one of the other ships, whence he beheld the catastrophe which deprived him of the persons he held most dear, and of his whole fortune, which consisted of specie and property to the amount of 30,000*l.* What pen shall describe the agonized feelings of the wretched father and husband at this awful moment? We must leave the subject to abler hands. There was a time when the author of the "Corsair," and the "Bride of Abydos," might have immortalized the sorrows of this "much enduring, much afflicted man." If the policy of Great Britain was the cause of his suffering, her government did every thing in its power to atone for the deed. Alvear was received by the victors with every mark of attention and sympathy, and all the consolation was administered which his distracted mind was capable of receiving. His case being stated to the proper authorities, the sum of 30,000*l.* was restored to him, out of the proceeds of the prizes.

* The Author was personally acquainted with Captain Alvear,

This squadron was commanded by Don Joseph Bustamente, knight of the order of St. James, and a rear-admiral; they were from Monté Video, and had on board most valuable cargoes. The loss on board the Spaniards, in all the ships but the Mercedes, was not very great, in consequence of the fire of the British ships being directed at the rigging. To detain, but not destroy, was the humane object of our gallant countrymen.

The ships taken were La Medée (flag), of forty-two guns, eighteen pounders, three hundred men, two killed and ten wounded; La Fama (commodore), thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, two hundred and eighty men, no returns of killed and wounded; La Clara, thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, three hundred men, no returns: La Mercedes, thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, two hundred and eighty men, blew up, second captain and forty men saved.

Captain Moore, with the Indefatigable and Amphion, arrived in Plymouth sound on the 19th of October, bringing in the Medée and Clara; the Medusa and Lively having parted company in chase of the Fama.

It was not long before the Spanish government, becoming acquainted with their grievous loss, ordered an embargo on all British vessels in their ports. On the 19th of December, 1804, an order in council was issued by the British government

from whom he received the narrative. He commanded a Spanish ship of the line at Cadiz, in 1809.

to the same effect, with regard to Spain; and the detention of Spanish property at sea was immense, giving a new spirit and turn to the war greatly to our advantage.

Account of treasure and merchandise captured in the Spanish ships Medée, Fama, and Clara:—

	Sacks of Veanna Wool.	Chests and sacks of Cascarilla.	Bars of tin.	Pigs of copper.	Dollars in silver.	Chests of Rutina.	Gold.		Seal-skins.	Seal-oil in pipes.
							Value in dollars.	Ingots, ditto.		
Medée (flag), on King's account	35	20	1627	203	521,940	—	279,502	124,600	—	—
On Merchants' account	—	—	—	—	952,619	32	404,102		—	—
Fama, King's account	—	—	300	—	330,000	—	217,756	25,414	—	—
Merchants' account	—	—	—	—	316,597	—	243,170		—	—
Clara (commod.), King's account	20	20	1666	571	234,604	—	—		—	—
Merchants' account	—	—	—	—	—	—	622,400		—	—
Medée, on account of Marine Company	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		8995	—
Fama, Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		14,930	—
Clara, Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	10
Total	55	40	3693	774	2,355,830	32	1,269,672		23,925	10

The Mercedes had about the same quantity as the others, but as she was lost, we give no account of it.

While the fortunate western cruisers were thus enriching themselves, and destroying the commerce and resources of France, by wounding her through the sides of Spain, our officers in the Channel were not unmindful of their equally important and honourable, though less profitable, duty. So alert

were they in watching the coast of France, in the dangerous neighbourhood of Cherbourg, that nothing could escape the penalty of a broadside or being driven on the rocks and destroyed. Captain M. J. Henniker, in the Albacore of eighteen guns, gave their flotilla a remarkable instance of this sort of vigilance.

On the 8th of October, Commodore the Duke of Bouillon, commanding on the Jersey station, sent Captain Henniker in pursuit of some vessels creeping along the shores of Normandy. The wind blew dead on the land, and a thick haze intercepted their view; but the Albacore stood boldly in, and discovered five luggers, with bow guns, of the second class of gun-vessels. These he forced to anchor in the surf, under the cover of a battery near Cape Grosnez. Night coming, Captain Henniker resolved not to let them slip, and came to anchor, to wait the return of day; when, taking advantage of the weather tide, he stood in, and coming again to anchor with springs on his cable, within four hundred yards of the surf, and close to the battery and the gun-vessels, he drove them on shore by his well-directed discharges of round and grape. They all lay broadside to, in the surf, which beat over them. The crews escaped in great confusion to the shore, taking their wounded along with them. The Albacore had no loss of men, but her masts were wounded, and she left her anchor and cable behind her.

On the 11th of December, Captain John Hunter, of the Venerable of seventy-four guns, his officers and ship's company, were tried by a court-martial for the loss of that ship on the Berry Head, the southernmost point of Torbay, in the night-time, in a gale of wind at S. E. The disadvantage of this anchorage for fleets or convoys has been fully explained. On this occasion, late in the year, the night dark, and the wind dead in, it became necessary for the fleet to put to sea. In turning out, the Venerable missed stays, went on shore, and was totally lost. The only miracle was, that all hands, with the exception of one or two, were saved. The Captain, officers, and ship's company were honourably acquitted by the sentence of the court.

CHAP. X.

Gallant action of the Pigot Indiaman—Capture of the Vengeur and Resolue, by Captain Mitchell, who soon after defeats a squadron of French frigates—Successful stratagem of Captain Lennox, who saves five valuable Indiamen from capture by Rear-admiral Sercey—The Company's ship Phœnix captures a French privateer—Blockade of Batavia—Captain Collier's action with La Fléche—Vice-admiral Rainier occupies the Portuguese settlements—Accounts reach Bombay of the probability of a renewal of the war—British naval force in India—Arrival of Rear-admiral Linois—Admiral Rainier refuses to deliver up Pondicherry—Linois sails in the night—News of the war reaches India—Linois attacks Bencoolen—Meets with the China fleet off Pulo A'or, and after a short action quits them—Anecdote of Captain Meriton—Munificence of the East India Company—Gallant action of Captain H. Lambert—Action between Centurion and Marengo—Captain Lambert in the St. Fiorenzo takes the Psyche—Admiral Rainier returns from India with the richest fleet ever remembered—Affairs of Ceylon and of India—Linois falls in with Sir Thomas Trowbridge in the Blenheim—Short action, undecided—Linois's disasters.

WHILE these sheets were in the press, we were favoured with some anecdotes of the late war in India, which, though not in time for insertion in their proper place, we trust will be found highly acceptable to our readers. Modern French writers contend, that the disasters which have attended their navy, were attributable to the misconduct of their rulers, to superior force on our side, or, in short, to any cause but the right one. The navy

of France must, however, be differently manned and constituted, before a better result can be expected. Let M. Dupin, the Count de Dumas, or Mons. Parissot, produce instances like what we are about to relate, and we shall be induced to change our opinion.

On the 17th of January, 1794, when there was not a *British ship of war in India*, the Company's ship Pigot, commanded by Captain George Ballantyne, was lying in Rat Island basin near Bencoolen, about eight or nine miles from the island of Sumatra; she mounted thirty-two guns, and had on board one hundred and two men, with her decks in confusion from her state of equipment. Here she was attacked by two French privateers; the larger was called Le Vengeur, mounted thirty-two guns, and had three hundred and fifty men; the second was La Resolue, of twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and sixty men. The entrance to the basin was too narrow to admit of both ships coming to action at the same time, so that they relieved each other. The larger ship began the attack at a quarter past eight in the morning; at times within one hundred and fifty yards, and seldom at a greater distance than three hundred and fifty. After fighting one hour and three-quarters, the enemy cut his halsers, and made sail: the smaller ship immediately took up the same position, and renewed the action, but in twenty minutes was forced to follow her consort, and both came to an anchor about two miles dis-

tant from the Pigot, to repair their damages. The Pigot lost but one man, who died of his wounds; her masts, sails, and rigging, were very much cut.

The two French ships were captured shortly after by four sail of Indiamen, under the command of Captain Charles Mitchell, who, on his return to England, was knighted for his conduct, and presented by the East India Company with 8000*l.*, as a compensation for the loss he had sustained by being diverted from his voyage.

The particulars of this action are much too honourable to pass unnoticed. The ships were the William Pitt, Captain Charles Mitchell; Houghton, Captain Hudson; Pigot, Captain Ballantyne; Nonsuch, Captain Canning; Britannia, Captain Cheap. These ships were in the China seas in December, 1793. On the 21st of January, the Pigot parted company. On the 22d, while at anchor off North Island, the Britannia, Houghton, and Nonsuch, saw two strange sail; they immediately weighed and chased; the strangers stood towards them, but soon discovering that the Indiamen had no wish to avoid an action, they tacked and ran. The English ships pursued, and brought them to action at a quarter before eleven, and in forty minutes they both surrendered. They proved to be the Vengeur of thirty-six guns, Captain Corosin, and the Resolue of twenty-eight guns, Captain Jallineaux. The Britannia had one man killed and two wounded; the Vengeur had fifteen killed and twenty-six wounded; among the latter

was the Captain, who died after the amputation of his leg.

On the 24th of January, the same ships were attacked by a French squadron, consisting of—

La Prudente	40	Commodore Renard
Sybille	44	Captain Trehowars
Le Duguay Trouin*		——— Trehowars
Isle de France	10	——— Renard.†

The French frigates sustained a gallant fight for some time, when, finding themselves overpowered, they made sail and escaped; and soon after took the Pigot, when lying in Rat Island basin, repairing her damages. With concern we add, that the gallant Captain Cheap, of the Britannia, died in the month of June following.

Another instance, equally honourable, confirms the observation of the Count de Dumas, that our Indiamen are frequently mistaken for ships of the line; and he might have said, not only in appearance, but in action.

The Company's ships—

Woodford	Captain Charles Lennox,
Ocean	——— Andrew Patten,
Taunton Castle	——— Edward Studd,
Canton	——— Thomas Lushington,
Boddam	——— ——— Palmer,

were surprised off the east end of Java, at daybreak, on the 28th of January, 1797, by a French

* Formerly Princess Royal Indiaman.

† Two Captains Trehowars, and two Captains Renard.

squadron of six frigates. The English ships were valuably laden with specie and merchandise; and Captain Lennox, who saw that to run would have betrayed the nature of his force, hoisted the flag of Rear-admiral Rainier, and directing his ships to shew the colours of ships of war, he ordered two of them to go in chase, and reconnoitre the enemy. This produced the desired effect; the French squadron made sail, and left our ships to pursue their voyage. It appeared that this squadron was commanded by Rear-admiral Sercey, an officer of distinguished merit in the French service. On his arrival at the Isle of France, he reported that he had been chased by Rear-admiral Rainier, with five sail of the line; but, to his utter mortification and dismay, the Governor convinced him that the Rear-admiral had not been near the spot, and that M. de Sercey had run away from five East Indiamen.

In November, 1800, the Honourable Company's ship, the Phœnix, when in lat. 20° 15′ south, fell in with a French privateer; she immediately cleared for action, and as they approached within pistol-shot, the Frenchman manned his rigging and prepared to board. The Phœnix, however, gave him no time to carry his plans into execution, for pouring in only half a broadside, the privateer struck her colours and called loudly for quarter: she proved to be the General Martillac, of sixteen guns, two of which were thirty-six pounders, and one hundred and twenty men. The conduct of the Cap-

tain of the Phœnix was deserving of great praise, and we trust he was amply rewarded.

In our account of the transactions of India, in 1800, we omitted to mention the blockade of the city and harbour of Batavia, by a squadron under the command of Captain Henry L. Ball, in the Dædalus, of thirty-two guns, having with him the Centurion, Braave, and Sybille. An attack on the island of Java was in contemplation at that time, but the state of affairs in India having prevented it, the squadron was employed in cutting off all the trade of the Dutch settlements: it took the arsenal at Onrust, and compelled the Dutch to burn thirty sail of vessels, to prevent their falling into our hands. A favourable negotiation was entered into with the native princes of Java, and by the utmost vigilance the squadron was kept from the contagion of the endemic fever of the island. At length the soldiers of the 12th regiment, breaking into a store at Onrust, and obtaining liquor, the disorder commenced with such destructive violence, that the squadron had scarcely strength to weigh their anchors, and the ships were recalled at the request of the Governor-general, who had undertaken the Mahratta war. It was with great reluctance that Admiral Rainier relinquished this enterprise, on which he had been ordered by the admiralty.

It would be an act of injustice to Captain (now Sir G. R.) Collier, of the Victor sloop of war, not to mention his gallant and persevering action with a French corvette, called La Flèche,

which he fell in with off the island Diego Garcia, in September, 1801, and like a true British officer brought to close action. The enemy sailed better than the Victor on a wind, but not so well large, and having disabled the rigging of the Victor, obtained a favourable position and escaped. Captain Collier determined not to quit his foe: judging that she must be bound to the Maheé islands, he steered for them, and there got sight of her as she lay in a secure and intricate anchorage. The officers of the Victor sounded the channel, under the fire of the French corvette, and Captain Collier having ascertained the depth of water, warped his ship in under a raking fire, until he got so near as to anchor with springs on his cable, when he brought his broadside to bear, and in two hours and a half sunk her at her anchors, without having one of his own men killed or wounded. The corvette had one hundred and seventy-two men and twenty-two guns; the Victor was a vessel of very inferior force.

In the month of December, the squadron was employed in occupying, or reinforcing, the garrisons of the Portuguese settlements in India, Diu, Goa, and Damaun, in pursuance of orders from government: a squadron also was despatched from Bengal to take possession of Macao, but the Admiral fortunately falling in with it off Prince of Wales's Island, ordered Captain Edward Oliver Osborn, in the Arrogant, to proceed with it to communicate with the supercargoes at Canton, before he landed the troops at Macao. This prudent

precaution saved much uneasiness, and perhaps prevented a disturbance between us and the Chinese, who would have seriously resented any affront offered to the Portuguese. This state of things, between us and the latter power, was occasioned by the forcible interference of France with the government of Lisbon; in consequence of which Madeira was occupied by a British garrison, as we have already shewn. On the 29th of February, 1802, the Vice-admiral received an account of the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace with France: from that time till the month of December, nothing material of a public nature occurred in India. On the 1st of the month, the Centurion left Trincomalee for Madras, and contrary to the usual course of the monsoon, when eighty miles east of that place, she met with a gale, or hurricane, of such extreme violence as to carry her lower masts over the side without a stitch of canvass being set: nothing but the most manly exertions saved the ship, which, with great damage in her hull, arrived safe in Madras roads, where Admiral Rainier embarked on board of her, on the 3d of January, 1803.

He had frequently written to be superseded from his command, but the Earl of St. Vincent acquainted him, that his local knowledge and experience were so conducive to the public good, that his services could not be dispensed with. Soon after this, the Vice-admiral sailed in the Centurion for Bombay, where he arrived on the

7th of February, in time to assist in person, with his ship's company, in extinguishing a fire, which broke out on the 17th, and burnt down the greater part of the town, leaving only the dock-yard, arsenal, European buildings, and castle, which were preserved by the intrepidity of the Admiral and his people. For his conduct on this occasion the Admiral received the thanks of the Governor and Council of Bombay, and was desired to communicate the same to his officers and men.

Captain James G. Vashon, of the Fox frigate, with two other vessels, was employed against the Jygate pirates with great success, which was acknowledged in warm terms by the government of Bombay. While Admiral Rainier was at Bombay, the accounts from Europe represented the peace to be not quite secure, and that a garrison for Pondicherry would leave France, at a certain time. The Admiral, in consequence of this intelligence, hastened round to the Coromandel coast, and anchored in Cudalore roads, on the 5th of July, when his force consisted of the—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Centurion (flag) . . .	50	Capt. J. S. Rainier
Lancaster	64	—— William Fothergill
Trident	64	—— Thomas Surridge
St. Fiorenzo	40	
Fox	32	—— J. G. Vashon
Terpsichore	32	—— W. Bathurst
Sheerness (flute) . . .	44	—— J. S. Carden
Victor, Albatross, Rattlesnake	Sloops.	

These were not all the ships of war on the station. In addition to them there were in the Indian seas, and on the passage to India,

The Arrogant	74	E. O. Osborn
Tremendous	74	John Osborn
Russel*	74	R. Williams
Sceptre*	74	Sir A. C. Dickson, Bart.
Intrepid	64	Wm. Hargood
Romney	50	Sir Home Popham
Leopard	50	

About eleven frigates and some sloops and smaller vessels.

In New South Wales and on discoveries;

Investigator	14	Matthew Flinders
Buffalo	12	Lieut. Wm. Kent

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to know the exact number of ships on this or any other station. The changes were so frequent and so various, as to baffle the most laborious inquiry.

The Admiral had been only one week on the coast, when Admiral Linois, whom our readers will remember at Algeziras in 1801, arrived in the Marengo, of seventy-four guns, with two or three large frigates. He had sailed from Brest very early in March, and anchored in Pondicherry roads, having on board General de Caen, with a garrison for that place; but the Vice-admiral, acting in concert with the government of Madras, would not allow them to land, nor would he deliver up the fortress until farther advices arrived from Europe. Linois affected much indignation at the refusal,

* Went out in 1804.

producing the sign manual of the King of Great Britain, as his authority to land, and warned Admiral Rainier of the consequences, intimating his determination to retire if the place was not immediately given up. While this correspondence was going on, a French corvette appeared in the offing, bringing despatches for Linois; who, on the following night, left lights upon his buoys, cut his cables, and went to the Mauritius.

Circumstances would not have justified the Admiral in any act of hostility against the French, farther than preventing their landing three thousand men at Pondicherry; but it was evident from the King's message to parliament of the 8th of March, that hostilities were about to recommence. This message had reached India in June; the corvette, Le Bellier, sailed early in April, and brought the intelligence which induced Linois to depart from the presence of a force so much his superior.

The Count de Dumas, in the "Précis," vol. xi. p. 61, accuses us of bad faith in not restoring the East India and other colonies: this is no more than we are to expect from French writers, whether of the Napoleon or the Ultra school. An extract from the same volume, p. 189, may convince an unprejudiced reader, that the conquest of our Indian possessions was deeply contemplated at the time the French government pretended to be most anxious to preserve peace.

The passage is taken from the instructions written in *February*, 1803, by Bonaparte himself,

for General de Caen, and concludes with these remarkable words.

"The mission of the captain-general is in the first instance a mission of observation, political and military, &c. but the First Consul, well instructed by the captain-general, and by the punctual execution of these instructions, may perhaps place it in his power to *acquire a great glory which prolongs the memory of men beyond the duration of ages.*"

Letters of marque and reprisals having been issued by the British government on the 16th of May, the Caroline frigate, commanded by Captain B. W. Page, sailed on the 27th, with despatches for India, and arrived on the 6th of September. The same intelligence had reached the presidency of Bombay from Bussorah on the 4th, with instructions from the court of directors to detain all Dutch property; their settlements to be occupied by us until the policy of the Netherlands was decided.

Admiral Rainier seeing the war was begun again, employed his squadron in every direction for the annoyance of the enemy. The Sheerness captured a French transport, laden with ordnance stores and provisions; and the Caroline took the General de Caen and Les Freres Unis privateers.

While the honour of the British flag was supported by our ships of war, those of the Honourable East India Company were equally successful in defending themselves from the attack of an enemy's squadron, which might, according to the fair

calculation of sea fighting, have taken or destroyed one half of them.

After Admiral Linois had retired from the roads of Pondicherry, and returned in safety with his squadron to the Isle of France, he received official despatches from Europe, conveying the news of the war, and bringing orders to commence hostilities. He sailed accordingly, and proceeded to the Eastern seas, attacking our settlement of Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, where he burnt or destroyed some smaller vessels, took three prizes, and burnt some warehouses, with comparative impunity.

This may be considered the last exploit of any consequence performed by the unfortunate French Admiral. He continued in the Chinese seas, and off Sumatra and Batavia, till the month of February, at which time, when off the straits of Malacca, he fell in with the homeward-bound India fleet, consisting of the following ships:—

Camden	Captain Dance
Warley	—— H. Wilson
Alfred	—— J. Farquharson
Royal George	—— F. J. Timmins
Coutts	—— R. Florin
Wexford	—— W. S. Clarke
Ganges	—— W. Moffatt
Exeter	—— Henry Meriton
Abergavenny	—— J. Waresworth, jun.
Henry Addington . . .	—— J. Kirkpatrick
Bombay Castle	—— A. Hamilton
Cumberland	—— W. W. Farren
Hope	—— J. Pendergrass

Dorsetshire	Captain	R. H. Brown
Warren Hastings	——	T. Larkins
Ocean	——	J. C. Lockner.

This valuable fleet, with eleven sail of country ships, fell in, off Pulo A'or, with the squadron under the command of Admiral Linois, consisting of the

Marengo	74 guns.
Belle Poule	44 ——
Suffisante	44 ——
Corvette	28 ——
Brig	18 ——

Captain Dance, with great judgment, put his ships' heads towards the enemy; four of his best sailers he sent down to reconnoitre, and having ascertained what they were, called in his look out, and formed the line of battle in close order under an easy sail. As soon as the French ships could fetch into the wake of ours, they put about, and at sunset were close in the rear of the India fleet, which was in momentary expectation of an attack, but at the close of day the French Admiral hauled his wind. Lieutenant Fowler, of the Royal Navy, who was a passenger with Captain Dance, volunteered to go in a fast sailing vessel to order the country ships to keep on the lee-bow of the India fleet; by this judicious arrangement Captain Dance kept himself between the country ships and the enemy. Lieutenant Fowler, having executed his order, returned, bringing with him some volunteers from the country

ships to serve at the guns (a noble proof of the public spirit of our sailors). The Indiamen lay to in line of battle during the night, with the people at their quarters. At daylight, on the 15th, the enemy were three miles to windward also lying to: the British ships hoisted their colours and offered battle, but the enemy not choosing to come down, at nine A. M. the India fleet steered its course under easy sail; the enemy then filled and edged towards them. At one P. M. Captain Dance, perceiving that the French Admiral intended to attack and cut off his rear, made the signal for his fleet to tack and engage in succession. The Royal George led, and was followed by the Ganges and Earl Camden. The ships performed the manœuvre with admirable correctness, and stood towards the French under a press of sail. The latter formed a very close line and opened their fire on the headmost ships, which was not returned until ours had approached as near as they could get, the French having a great advantage in superior sailing. The Royal George bore the brunt of the action; the Ganges and Camden came up, and also began to engage; but before any other ships could get up, the French Admiral hauled his wind, and stood away to the eastward under all the sail he could set. Captain Dance made the signal for a general chase, but after a pursuit of two hours, finding the enemy gained on him, he very properly desisted.

The action was very short; one man only

was killed on board the Royal George, and one wounded; the other ships had none hurt, and received little damage in their hulls or rigging.

To say that Linois was deceived by the warlike appearance of our Indiamen, and the blue swallow-tail flags, "pavillon a queue blue," worn by the three largest ships, may save his courage at the expense of his judgment. "An Indiaman," says the Count de Dumas, "has often been mistaken for a ship of the line;" but when did the Count de Dumas ever hear of three British ships of the line lying to, to await the attack of a force so much inferior?

One instance alluded to, *Précis*, vol. xi. p. 67, of an Indiaman being mistaken for a ship of the line is very amusing: the fact was given to the author by an officer in the Company's East India service.

Our readers, on turning to p. 176, of the second volume of this history, will see that a French frigate was captured by the Exeter, East Indiaman; the particulars of which transaction were as follow:—The chase was long, and at midnight Captain Meriton, of the Exeter, found himself coming very fast up with the enemy, while the Bombay Castle, another Indiaman, commanded by Captain Hamilton, was still very far astern. The position was critical, and the British officer, with great presence of mind, formed his determination; running alongside of the Frenchman, with all his ports up, he commanded him to surrender to a superior force; with this order, supposing

himself under the guns of a ship of the line, the French Captain instantly complied. Meriton gave him no time for deliberation, but sent an officer and brought him on board, and he delivered his sword to the English Captain, in due form, on the quarter-deck. The Bombay Castle was still at a great distance, but on her coming up, the prisoners were quickly taken out and divided. By this time the French Captain began to recover from his surprise, and looking very attentively at the little guns on the quarter-deck, asked Captain Meriton what ship it was to which he had surrendered? Meriton drily answered, "To a merchant-ship:" the indignant Frenchman begged to be allowed to return with his people to the frigate and fight the battle again. This humble request was refused; and the fact should certainly not be alluded to by the Count de Dumas, if he intended it as a *pièce justificative* for his friend Linois. The French frigate mounted thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, and had three hundred and fifty men.

The conduct of the Company's officers and men, on the memorable occasion of Pulo A'or, displayed a wonderful instance of our national character. On what occasion has it ever happened that the merchant-ships of our enemies have defended themselves, and adhered to each other with so much firmness and decision, against a ship of war? Our East Indiamen are certainly very fine ships, and have generally such an appearance as to be some-

times mistaken for ships of the line; but their complement of men is very inadequate to their size for fighting, particularly when required to lie alongside a ship of the line. None of them, we believe, had more than one hundred men, their heaviest metal eighteen pounders. The Marengo had seven hundred at least, with a weight of metal on her lower-deck, which rendered her an overmatch for all the ships of that fleet, that could at one time have brought their guns to bear on her. The two frigates were also very powerful ships; so that the conduct of Captain Dance, in resisting the attack, and keeping his ships in line of battle, instead of ordering them to separate and seek their safety in flight, entitles him to all the praise which can be bestowed on a sea officer. His merit was justly appreciated by his Majesty, who was graciously pleased to confer upon him the honour of knighthood. The court of directors also presented him with two thousand guineas, and a piece of plate of the value of two hundred guineas. To Captain Timmins, of the Royal George, they presented the sum of one thousand guineas, and a piece of plate of the value of one hundred guineas; to Captain Moffatt, of the Ganges, five hundred guineas, and a piece of plate of one hundred guineas value; to all the other captains, five hundred guineas, and a piece of plate of the value of fifty guineas; to Lieutenant Fowler, of the Royal Navy, a piece of plate of three hundred guineas value. No one

went unrewarded; each of the chief officers received . . . . . 150*l.*
Second ditto 125
Third ditto 80
Fourth ditto 80
Fifth ditto 50
Sixth ditto 50
Gunners 50
Carpenters 50
Midshipmen 30
Other petty officers 15
Seamen, ordinary seamen, and servants 6

The Company, that so generously rewarded its servants, had the surest pledge of being well served: and, in addition to the above rewards, the Bombay Insurance Society voted a sum of 5000*l.* with a sword of one hundred guineas value to Sir Nathaniel Dance; and swords of equal value to the Captains Timmins and Moffatt, whose ships shared in the action. Their munificence did not end here. A general court of proprietors was held on the 4th of January, 1805, when the chairman stated, "That agreeably to a resolution of the court, of the 19th of December, it is appointed to take into consideration a motion made to grant to Sir Nathaniel Dance, late commander of the ship Earl Camden, a pension of 300*l.* per annum." It was moved and resolved unanimously, That the court, highly approving of the attention which has been paid by the court of directors to the great merit of the commander, officers, and men, who so nobly distin-

guished themselves on the 15th of February, is still desirous of expressing the high sense which the proprietors entertain of the skill and courage which were displayed, and of the signal victory which was obtained on that day, by the ships of the East India Company, under the spirited and judicious command of Sir Nathaniel Dance, and does therefore confer upon him, instead of an annuity of 300*l.* proposed by the court of directors, an annuity of 500*l.*

Captain Henry Lambert commanded the Wilhelmina, of thirty-two guns, an old Dutch-built frigate, without one quality to recommend her as a ship of war, unless it were that of looking so unlike one in every respect that the enemy fearlessly approached her, and by that means were sometimes captured when a chase would have ended in disappointment.

This ship, in the month of April, 1804, fell in, off the east side of Ceylon, with a large French frigate-built privateer, which she engaged with great obstinacy and fury for three hours, when the Frenchman being much disabled, and the British frigate still more so, they separated, nor was it in the power of our young hero to renew the action, the enemy having so much the advantage of him in point of sailing. We shall shortly, however, see him more gloriously successful. The Wilhelmina had four men killed and six wounded.

The unfortunate Linois was doomed to experience another defeat from a ship of war every way

his inferior, and under circumstances which certainly placed his professional character in a still more unfavourable point of view.

On the 18th of September, the Centurion, of fifty guns, was lying at anchor in the roads of Vizegapatam, for the protection of the Princess Charlotte, Indiaman, and the Barnaby, a country ship, which were taking in their cargoes at that place. While thus employed, Linois appeared in sight from the southward, with the Marengo and two frigates. Captain Lind was on shore at this time, making the necessary arrangements for the sailing of the convoy; in his absence the command of the ship devolved on the first lieutenant, Mr. J. R. Phillips, whose good conduct could certainly not be surpassed. As his first object was to secure the convoy, he made the signal for an enemy being in sight, and for the ships to provide for their own safety. The Barnaby ran on shore and was lost in the surf, and the Princess Charlotte struck her colours after receiving a few shots from one of the frigates. The Centurion cut her cable and got under sail, prepared to receive the attack of this superior force, the whole of which now fell upon the British ship. Their fire was returned with the greatest vigour; the enemy's ships kept at the distance of half a mile from her, and in this way all of them engaged for more than an hour; the Marengo and one frigate on the starboard, the other frigate on the larboard quarter. At eleven o'clock the French ships tacked and stood to sea,

and soon after Captain Lind got on board, with great difficulty and danger. By this time the Centurion's rigging and sails were so much cut as to render her unmanageable, and she was compelled to anchor at the back of the surf, about a mile and a half to the north-east of the town, where she prepared again for action. The enemy stood in, and after trying the range of her guns, came to an anchor abreast of the Centurion, at the distance of about a mile, and renewed the action. The lower-deck guns of the British ship were the only ones that would reach, while those of the enemy were capable of doing greater execution. One of the frigates kept under sail on her quarter, and annoyed them very much, while the other carried off the Indiaman. After this action had lasted about two hours, the Marengo cut her cable, and made sail with the squadron and prize to the N. E.

The Count de Dumas, unfortunate in his apology for Linois, in the affair off Pulo A'or with Commodore Dance, is still more so in this. He calls the Centurion, "Un vaisseau de guerre;" but the term is never applied by the French to any thing less than a ship of sixty-four guns, which he well knew the Centurion was not. He says, that she was supported by heavy batteries, which is equally incorrect, as no ship of her draught of water could lay within gun-shot of the shore. He observes, also, that we had ten sail of the line in India, which were in search of Linois, and which he was certain would soon overtake him; he there-

fore made the best of his way to the Isle of France, "after having captured and destroyed to the value of twenty millions of francs from the Company. Faults," he concludes, "we may avoid, but uncertainty and error we are all liable to." *Précis*, vol. xi. p. 69.

The conduct of Linois in this affair seems to be unaccountable; the naval reader must draw his own conclusion. The Centurion had none killed, and only nine wounded. Captain Lind received the honour of knighthood, and his first lieutenant was promoted to the rank of commander, and soon after to that of post-captain; a step to which his merit justly entitled him.

On the 13th of February, Captain Henry Lambert, in the St. Fiorenzo of thirty-eight guns, fell in, off the Sand-heads, or rather more to the southward, near Vizegapatam, with a French frigate, a privateer of ten guns, and a country ship, their prize. After a chase of thirty-seven hours, the British frigate came up with the merchant-ship, which she recaptured, and learnt that the enemy's ship was the Psyche, of thirty-six guns and two hundred and forty men, under the command of Captain Bergeret. Captain Lambert left a midshipman in charge of the prize, and made all sail in pursuit of the frigate, then endeavouring to escape, and at a great distance ahead. At ten minutes past eight he commenced a close action with her, which continued till half-past eleven, when the St. Fiorenzo hauled off to repair her

rigging, and in half an hour after bore up to renew the contest; but just as she was about to open her fire, an officer came from the enemy's ship to say, that motives of humanity had compelled her captain to surrender; he had therefore struck her colours, though he might have borne the conflict much longer. This message did little honour to the candour of Captain Bergeret; since, if he was capable of continuing the action, he ought not to have surrendered, and, if incapable, why substitute a false reason for the true one? Upon examination of the captured ship, however, all farther disguise was impracticable, and the cause of the surrender was evident; the second captain, two lieutenants, fifty-four seamen and soldiers lay dead on her decks, with seventy officers and men wounded. The St. Fiorenzo had twelve killed and thirty-six wounded. There was a character in this action that marked it as one of peculiar coolness and gallantry on both sides. Captain Bergeret was a man universally esteemed by his enemies. His bravery, his talents, his humanity and generosity to his prisoners, had rendered him deservedly an object of interest to all those who had fallen into his power, and from them he received the most handsome testimonials of his conduct. He had been taken in a former action, by Sir Edward Pellew in the Indefatigable; he then commanded La Virginie, a very large frigate.

Captain Lambert, whose conduct on this and the former occasion excited the admiration of the

country, received no particular mark of favour for his victory.

Admiral Rainier, while his cruisers were so honourably employed in the bay of Bengal, did not forget the blockade of the Isle of France, off which he stationed Captain Edward O. Osborn, in the Arrogant of seventy-four guns, with a small squadron, who captured and destroyed many of the enemy's vessels; but, notwithstanding the vigilance of that excellent officer, the French squadron under M. Linois, with all their prizes, got safe into port.

In January, 1805, Admiral Rainier was at Prince of Wales's Island, where he found Rear-admiral Sir Edward Pellew, in the Culloden, had arrived to succeed him in the command.

In March, Admiral Rainier sailed from Madras in the Trident: stopping at St. Helena, he took the China fleet under his convoy, and arrived safe in the Downs with the most valuable fleet that ever came from India. It consisted of thirty-nine ships, and was estimated in value at fifteen millions sterling. Admiral Gantheaume was supposed to have been most anxious to get out for the chance of intercepting this fleet, but Cornwallis and Gardner kept too close to Brest to admit of his moving; and the gallant veteran, Admiral Rainier, completed his long and meritorious public services, by bringing the convoy in safety to the ports of his country, from which he had been absent eleven years and four months.

During the whole of that time he held the command in India; and no officer had ever possessed it for so long a period, nor with so much uninterrupted success. He died in London, on the 6th of April, 1808, after having bequeathed to his country one-tenth part of the property which he had acquired in its service.

The peace of Amiens, which had added to our Indian territory the beautiful island of Ceylon, of the same length and something broader than Ireland, while it gave us the possession of Trincomalee, Point de Galle, and Colombo, added to the weight and responsibility resting on the supreme government and the commander-in-chief of the naval forces in India. To these vast possessions St. Helena may be called the first or outward barrier; the Cape of Good Hope the second; and the island of Ceylon the third. Of this island the Honourable Frederick North was appointed governor on its cession to the British crown; but he had still to contend with the King of Candi, the lawful sovereign of the country, for the command of the fruitful provinces of the interior.

In the month of June, 1803, the unfortunate Major Davie, who commanded a detachment of forty British and two hundred Malay troops, was induced to lay down his arms, when intrusted with the defence of the city of Candi, and himself and people were put to death in cold blood, with the exception of two or three who were permitted to escape. The entire possession of the coast, and

all the sea-ports of the island, gave us a great advantage as a maritime power, but unfortunately Ceylon, for many years past, has been subject to diseases, formerly unknown or of rare occurrence; and Trincomalee, the finest harbour in the world, is scarcely tenable from the prevalence of the cholera morbus.

While Admiral Rainier was on his passage to England, Linois, his great opponent in India, having completed his repairs at the Isle of France, and made good the damage sustained in the action with the Centurion, sailed on his third cruise, in which he was more successful in the acquisition of wealth than of honour.

It had been considered by Earl St. Vincent that the East India command, from the Gulf of Persia to China, or from the Cape of Good Hope to Macao, was too extensive for one officer. Rear-admiral Sir Edward Pellew now exclusively held that command, to which he had succeeded on the resignation of Vice-admiral Rainier, early in 1805. In the same year Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge was appointed to share the profits and the patronage of that enviable station; he had the east, while Sir Edward Pellew held the west side of the Peninsula.

Sir Thomas Trowbridge, having his flag in the Blenheim of seventy-four guns, a reduced ninety-gun ship, sailed from England some time in June, with ten sail of Indiamen under his convoy, and a body of troops on board, with which he was di-

rected to proceed to Madras with the least possible delay.

Linois, having quitted the Isle of France in the month of May, upon his third cruise, scoured the Mosambique channel, with the Marengo and the Belle Poule, thence he proceeded to the mouth of the Red Sea, and finding the weather too violent he steered for Point de Galle, in the island of Ceylon, captured the Brunswick, East Indiaman, and then directed his course towards the Cape of Good Hope. No man had more perseverance than Linois, none had ever more opportunities of seeing his enemy, and none was ever more unfortunate in the results. His error off Pulo A'or was mistaking Indiamen for ships of war; in the present instance he was equally unfortunate in mistaking a ship of war for an Indiaman. In the month of August, he fell in with Sir Thomas Trowbridge and his convoy to the eastward of Madagascar, in 81° east and 19° south. Linois had with him the Belle Poule and Atalante frigates, of forty-four guns, and the Brunswick, his prize. The Marengo brought the Blenheim to action most probably under the conviction of that ship being an Indiaman; but feeling the effect of her lower-deck guns, Linois very quickly took himself out of gun-shot, and hauled his wind. The Blenheim sailed too ill to attempt the pursuit, and the British Rear-admiral continued his course to Madras, where he arrived without any farther accident, and took the command in the Eastern seas.

Soon after this rencontre M. Linois lost his prize, the Brunswick, by a gale of wind, in Simon's Bay, and one of his frigates, the Atalante, in Table Bay: the guns and stores of the latter were saved, and put on board a French ship of thirty-two guns and two hundred and fifty men, which, in the month of December following, was driven on shore by Captain Donnelly, in the Narcissus of thirty-two guns, and totally wrecked. The career of Mons. Linois was terminated shortly after by his capture, the particulars of which will be related in another place.

CHAP. XI.

Plans of Napoleon for invasion of England—Number and disposition of his forces—His letters to the minister of marine and to La Touche Treville—Force of his fleet—Directions of Napoleon for the exercise of his Brest fleet—Letter to Missiessy—Army and flotilla—Plans his expeditions to St. Helena, West Indies, and Ireland—Rendezvous off Boulogne—Combination of Spain with France—Causes of failure—Sir Robert Calder sent off Ferrol—Rigorous blockade of Brest—Anxiety of Napoleon for the sailing of Gantheaume—Orders to take the West India islands and St. Helena—Falsehood and deceit of Napoleon.

THE naval history of Great Britain for the year 1805, was fraught with events of such magnitude as to command in a particular manner the attention of the whole civilized world; whose political existence depended on the result of the great struggle preparing to be decided on the ocean between the navies of Britain and those of France, Spain, and Holland united against her.

The Emperor of France, with his "invincible army of England," encamped on the heights of Boulogne, waited with anxious expectation to hear of the defeat of the British fleet, before he embarked on his perilous enterprise against the last refuge of liberty in Europe.

While our fleets preserved their position before the Texel, Brest, Rochefort, Vigo, Ferrol, Cadiz, Carthagena, and Toulon, the smaller vessels under

the command of the most enterprising young officers, watched every motion of the flotilla and the imperial legions, and lost no opportunity of shewing to them the kind of enemy they would have to encounter, should they ever reach the happy shores of Britain.

The grand scene of naval operations extended from the Texel to Toulon, thence westward as far as the island of Trinidad, the Antilles, and Jamaica; but how little of his boastful schemes the artful Napoleon was able to achieve! The intended capture of St. Helena and the four islands in the West Indies, the invasion of Ireland, and the reunion of all his forces in September, 1805, off Boulogne, by being mentioned only contributed to humble him both as a soldier and a politician in the utter abortion of such designs.

The year 1804 had been suffered to pass away without any attempt on the part of France, and nothing was effected by us worthy of notice.

It was pretended by Napoleon that his squadrons putting to sea simultaneously should raise the blockades of the ports of Europe, and after ravaging the British colonies, reunite in the Channel. In this he certainly pursued a very different system to that which had been adopted by his predecessors. Convinced that the failure of the maritime expeditions of France in her former wars was occasioned by precipitation, he resolved to collect an overpowering force, and not to hazard it in action until he could ensure a favourable result.

See *Précis*, vol. xi. p. 317. "His plan was so good," says his eulogist, "that it ought to have succeeded even at the very last moment." This is a conclusion to which we should not have been led by reading the letters and instructions of Napoleon; on the contrary, knowing as he did the force under the command of Nelson and Cornwallis, we cannot admit that he shewed any judgment in trusting to the union and resources of his scattered squadrons, after months of separation, and in not having as many French three-deck ships under the command of Villeneuve as there were in the British fleet.

Among the numerous projects laid down, it is difficult to say what he really intended, and probably his object was to mislead those into whose hands his despatches might fall.

In a letter to his minister of the marine, dated at St. Cloud, 1st May, 1804, Napoleon gives the most positive injunctions for the Brest fleet to be daily under sail; he is discontented with the conduct of the admiral, who, notwithstanding his urgent commands, "had not caused one ship to weigh her anchor in the whole course of the year, in order to facilitate the passage of the flotilla from Audierne-bay:" so that, with a very small squadron, the English had been permitted to blockade their fleet. "Whenever the weather will permit," he says, "let light squadrons be kept constantly under weigh, to harass the enemy; even if they should receive a few broadsides." No excuse

would be admitted for the neglect of this order, the execution of which was to keep the British on the alert, and the French in wind, "*en haleine.*" Napoleon forgot that this exercise was at least as beneficial to us as to them; increasing the local knowledge of our officers, and the practical seamanship of our men. Rewards and promotions were liberally held forth to the most zealous; and by a letter to Admiral La Touche Treville, dated Malmaison, July 2, 1804, it would appear that a little energy had been instilled into them.

To that officer Napoleon writes, "that the Rochefort squadron consists of five sail of the line and four frigates ready for sea. That at Brest there are twenty sail of the line, which are in the constant habit of weighing anchor *to harass the enemy;* that three Dutch ships of the line were blocked up in the Texel, with four frigates, and a convoy of thirty transports, having on board the army of Marmont."

That "between Etaples, Boulogne, Vimereux, and Ambleteuse he had one thousand eight hundred gun-vessels, carrying one hundred and twenty thousand troops, and ten thousand horses." "Let us only be masters of the Channel six hours, and we shall be masters of the world." *Précis,* vol. xi. p. 200. "If," continues Napoleon, "you deceive Nelson, he will go to Sicily, to Egypt, or to Ferrol —if your squadron should get out of the Mediterranean, it will naturally be supposed that you intend to raise the blockade of the last-named place;

it will therefore be advisable that you take a circuitous route to reach Rochefort; this will give you sixteen sail of the line and eleven frigates; then, without anchoring or losing one minute, you will either sail round Ireland at a great distance, or get before Boulogne." (We suppose by running up the English Channel.) "Our Brest fleet, of *twenty-three** sail of the line, will have the army embarked, and by keeping under sail will oblige Cornwallis to remain close to the shores of Bretany, in order to prevent their escape." He adds, "It is probable that you will reach Boulogne in the course of September, when the nights will be reasonably long, and the weather not bad for any length of time."

When, in the autumn of 1804, Bonaparte was at Mayence, he ordered Decrees to prepare three expeditions. The first was to embrace two plans: that under Villeneuve, to sail from Toulon, was to consist of twelve sail of the line, eight frigates, and two brigs, with a body of troops. When in the Atlantic Ocean he was to detach two sail of the line, four frigates, and two brigs, with one thousand eight hundred troops, under the command of Brigadier-general Rielle, to take St. Helena; to carry succours to Senegal; retake Goree, and burn or lay under heavy contributions all the British settlements on the coast of Guinea. Villeneuve after having made this detachment, was to proceed in execution of the other part of his orders: with nine

* Napoleon always varies in the statement of his forces.

or ten sail of the line, three frigates, and five or six thousand men, he was to repair to Guayana, take on board Victor Hugues, and go to Surinam, of which no doubt he expected to become master.

The moment it was known that this fleet had sailed from Toulon, the Rochefort squadron, under Vice-admiral Missiessy, was to sail directly to Martinique; to take Dominica, St. Lucia, and the Saints, and place himself under the orders of Villeneuve; who, thus reinforced, would lay all the British islands under contribution; take as many prizes as they could; shew themselves before every roadstead in the Windward Islands; run down to the city of St. Domingo, in which a few French troops still remained, reinforce them with twelve or fifteen hundred men; then returning to Europe, raise the blockade of Ferrol; release the five sail of the line in that port, and thus with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, proceed to Rochefort, then join the Brest fleet, and with the whole proceed to Boulogne.

Villaret, who commanded the fleet at St. Domingo, in 1802, was appointed governor of Martinique; Victor Hugues to Surinam; and, as if success was certain, governors were also appointed to Demerara, Berbice, and Cayenne.

The instructions respecting a fourth expedition are fully detailed in a letter from Napoleon to Decres, dated Mayence, September 29, 1804. *Précis*, vol. xi. p. 212. This was to be undertaken by Gantheaume, with the Brest fleet. The

Ocean, of one hundred and twenty guns, under repair at that port, was to have been finished by torch-light, to assist in conveying eighteen thousand men; three thousand of which were to be cavalry, artillery, and engineers. Sailing from Brest they were to steer well to the westward of Ireland, and then turning suddenly to the east, enter Loch Swilly, as if coming from Newfoundland. Thirty-six hours after having anchored, they were to sail again, leaving the brigs and all the transports, with the Voluntaire frigate, whose guns were to serve for the army, or to be placed in battery, or otherwise, as might be most advisable. The landing in Ireland, if not immediately effected, was to have been abandoned; no time was to be lost, and the squadron was to steer for Cherbourg, to gain intelligence of the army at Boulogne, and escort the flotilla. If, on reaching this last place, the Admiral should find the winds so unfavourable as to force him to pass the Straits of Dover, he was to proceed to the Texel, where he would find seven Dutch ships of the line, and twenty-seven thousand men embarked: these he was to take under his convoy, and proceed with them to Ireland. "One or the other of these operations," says Napoleon, "must succeed;" and then, whether he had thirty or forty thousand men in Ireland, whether he was himself in England or Ireland, the victory was his. "Le gain de la guerre est a nous." "The English attacked at the same time in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, unaccustomed to

such visitations, will be made sensible of their own weakness." Napoleon supposed, and with great reason, that as soon as Admiral Cornwallis heard of the sailing of Gantheaume from Brest, he would steer for Ireland, and not finding him there, that he would return to Brest and watch for him. For this reason Gantheaume was directed, after landing his troops, to go round the north of Scotland, and repair to the Texel: at the time of his departure from Brest, a hundred and twenty thousand men would be embarked at Boulogne, and twenty-five thousand at the Texel. These were to continue embarked as long as the expedition to Ireland lasted. The sailing of the Toulon and Rochefort divisions was to precede that of Brest for Ireland, as it was calculated that the twenty sail of the line, of which those squadrons were composed, would oblige us to send thirty sail in pursuit of them; and the ten or twelve thousand troops on board of them would cause us also to send strong reinforcements to our vulnerable points.

In consequence of our seizure of the Spanish frigates in October, 1804, the king of Spain was very easily induced to join Napoleon in his hostility to England. A force of thirty sail of the line in the ports of the Peninsula, with six months' provisions, and five thousand troops, would appear formidable in a French or English newspaper, but no where else. We have seen the Spanish line of battle ships twenty-four hours unmooring; as many minutes are sufficient for a well-

manned British ship to perform the same operation. When on any grand ceremony, they found it necessary to cross their top-gallant yards in harbour, they began the day before; we cross ours in *one* minute from the deck. But, as enemies, the Spaniards have rarely deserved our notice. Gravina took the command of the Spanish fleet at Cadiz; Grandejana, the squadron at Ferrol. Gibraltar was *threatened* by a Spanish army encamped at St. Roch, under the command of Valdez; while O'Farril had another of twenty-five thousand men on the frontiers of Portugal, to command the equivocal neutrality of that power.

There is an inextricable confusion and want of arrangement in the plans of Napoleon, and one is led to suppose that he wished to put England on her guard against his enterprise, merely to furnish him with excuses for not undertaking it. It is clear, that if he seriously meditated the invasion of England, he began his work in a manner of all others the least likely to ensure success. He had so long threatened it, that he felt his honour was concerned in the execution: yet when the season approached, he was evidently afraid to embark his fortune as a soldier, his crown, and his life, on an element which fatal experience had often told him was not favourable to the genius of France.

Why did he not, when his forces in the spring of 1805 were perfectly prepared, assemble them all in the Channel? His fleet from Toulon, which he

intended should coast along the shores of Europe, and gather the squadrons, till they united at Brest with a fleet of eighty sail of the line, never made the attempt beyond raising the blockade of Cadiz. What was the capture or pillage of a poor little island in the West Indies, compared to the mighty plans of which he had so loudly boasted? Was it likely that his fleet, after a campaign in that pestilential climate, would have been better prepared for the execution of his project, than they were at their first sailing out of port? Where was the probability that his scattered squadrons (admitting their escape from our pursuit) would join the appointed rendezvous at Boulogne, after a cruise of six months, when so many events, of which his admirals must have been ignorant, might in their absence have changed the whole face of Europe? Napoleon, who had led his legions to the water-side, trembled at the sight of that shore, the possession of which had been the object of his fondest hopes, the height of his ambition. Having advanced so far, he knew not how to retreat with honour, and was, no doubt, happy to hear that Villeneuve had returned to Ferrol; and thus after venting his peevish expression, "Quel Amiral!" he gladly availed himself of the non-appearance of his fleet, which he pretended had rendered the undertaking impracticable. The armaments, which he had sent to different parts of the world, returned without effecting any thing, if we except the plunder of Rousseau, by Missiessy and General

La Grange. Napoleon, affecting disappointment, turned away from the ocean, and led his army to the plains of Jena and Austerlitz. Missiessy, a gallant and enterprising officer, whether enjoined to return quickly, or not supposing himself strong enough, made no systematic attack to reduce Dominica, and was forced to be contented with a predatory warfare. Villeneuve, anxious to avoid the victorious Nelson, fled through the West Indies, and had almost reached his port, when intercepted and brought to action by the brave Sir Robert Calder.

Early in March, Sir Robert was on his station, near Cape Prior, with only seven sail of the line, soon after augmented to nine: nor was it till the 14th of July that he was reinforced by the junction of Rear-admiral Stirling, with six sail of the line, who came to him from Rochefort, which port he had been blockading, and where it has been observed the enemy had five sail of the line, which sailed immediately on his quitting that station. For five months, with the most immoveable patience, had Sir Robert Calder, with a very inferior force, watched the port of Ferrol, where the enemy had five sail of French ships of the line, as many Spanish, and eight frigates, ready for sea, besides three more Spanish ships of the line in a very forward state of equipment.

The return of Villeneuve to some port in Europe was to be daily expected. Brest and Cadiz were guarded, and Sir Robert Calder was ordered to

look for him forty leagues west of Cape Finisterre.

Nothing could have saved Villeneuve from the disgrace of this check but the sailing of Gantheaume; but Gantheaume, in spite of all his exertions, could not get out of Brest, so closely was he watched by Lord Gardner, with the Channel fleet, in March, and Admiral Cornwallis for the rest of the summer. To every seaman it must appear obvious that there was but one plan, by which Napoleon could ever have expected to succeed in the invasion of England; this was at any risk to have assembled all his ships off Brest, where, if he had ever possessed eighty sail of the line, they must have been a match for our Channel fleet: Letter after letter he writes from the Chateau de Stapinis to Decrees, to urge the departure of Gantheaume—"Send a courier to Gantheaume; God grant he may not find him at Brest." This was on the 23d of April, and on the same day, in another letter, he says, "Recommend to Villeneuve to do all the harm he can (in the West Indies, we conclude), while waiting the arrival of Gantheaume." We cannot persuade ourselves, that Napoleon ever seriously meant to send Gantheaume in search of Villeneuve to the West Indies: it is very certain such a design was never carried into effect. He had ten thousand troops in the Windward Islands—"Let them take St. Vincent, Antigua, Grenada, and why not Barbadoes? I leave it with yourself to send orders to retake Tobago and Trinidad."—It

was in this way he was "to keep the English in perpetual alarm, and suddenly strike them terrible blows." The stale artifice of spreading false news from India was resorted to: "Let it be inserted in the gazettes that great news is arrived from India,—that the despatches have been sent off to the Emperor,—that the contents have not transpired, but that every thing goes on ill with the English." How degrading to the character of human nature, when the rulers of the world have recourse to falsehood and deceit, to support their plans of treachery, pillage, and murder! But Providence is just, the triumph of iniquity is transient, its punishment certain, signal, and tremendous in proportion to its magnitude; affording an awful warning to unjust princes, an encouraging example to the upright, and to a faithful and loyal people. The deep-laid schemes of Napoleon and his counsellors, wanting the sanction from on high, ended in the destruction of his fleets, his armies, and himself.

CHAP. XII.

The combined fleet met with and defeated by Sir Robert Calder —Particulars of the action—His court-martial and reprimand —Observations—His official letters—Consequences of this affair—Action between Phœnix and Didon—Vindication of Lord William Fitz-Roy—His order from Admiral Cornwallis —Falls in with Rochefort squadron—With the Dragon—With Sir R. Calder—Importance of his mission—Reflections —Capt. Maitland attacks Muros—Conduct of Lieutenant Yeo—Capture of La Libre—of Wolverine.

Not long was the Emperor allowed to indulge in his reveries of conquest, and hopes of plunder and revenge: Villeneuve and Missiessy came back to Europe as fast as their ships could bring them. Missiessy reached Rochefort in safety, but Villeneuve was not so fortunate. On the 19th of July, the Auckland packet brought Sir Robert Calder a letter from Mr. Gambier, the British consul at Lisbon, inclosing the copy of an order from Lord Nelson, dated the 15th of June, at sea, directed to the commanding officer of his Majesty's ships in the Tagus, and acquainting him that the combined squadron had passed Antigua on the 8th, standing to the northward, and recommending the Admiral, off Ferrol, to be on his guard.*

The British fleet at this time in pursuit of him, under the command of Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder, consisted of fifteen sail of the line, two

* See Sir Robert Calder's Court-Martial, p. 36.

frigates, a cutter, and a lugger. The Vice-admiral fell in with them, on the morning of the 22d of July, in lat. 43° 30′ N. and long. 11° 17′ W. or about forty leagues from Ferrol. His first object being to bring the enemy to action, he formed his fleet into compact order, and on closing with them, made the signal to attack their centre. The enemy's fleet, it appears, were to windward: ours therefore stood upon the same tack, until, by going about, without signal, the Hon. Captain Gardner, in the Hero, who led the van, fetched close up under the lee of their fleet, so that by the time our headmost ships reached their centre, the enemy's ships were tacking in succession, which obliged the Vice-admiral to perform the same evolution. By this means a general action was brought on, which lasted four hours; when the British Admiral found it necessary to bring to, to cover two ships which he had captured. The enemy had the advantage of wind and weather; a very thick fog concealed them a great part of the day, so that the British Admiral was unable to communicate with his ships by signal, and soon after the commencement of the action, the fog was so dense that he could scarcely discern the seconds ahead or astern of him. The ships captured were the San Rafael, eighty-four guns, and the Firmè, seventy-four, both Spaniards. The loss sustained by the British fleet on this occasion was forty-one killed and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded; that of the enemy, as usual, was infinitely greater.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty Office, July 31, 1805.

Copy of a letter from the Honourable Admiral Cornwallis, Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the Channel, &c. to William Marsden, Esq. dated Ville de Paris, off Ushant, July 25, 1805, eight, P. M.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter from Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder, giving an account of his success against the combined squadron of France and Spain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. CORNWALLIS.

Prince of Wales, July 23, 1805.

SIR,

Yesterday at noon, lat. 43 deg. 30 min. N.; long. 11 deg. 17 min. W., I was favoured with a view of the combined squadron of France and Spain, consisting of twenty sail of the line, fourteen French and six Spanish,* also three large ships, armed en flute, of about fifty guns each, with five frigates, and three brigs; the force under my direction, at this time, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and lugger. I immediately stood towards the enemy with the squadron, making the needful signals for battle in the closest order; and, on closing with them, I made the signal for attacking their centre. When I had reached their rear, I tacked the squadron in succession; this brought us close up under their lee, and when our headmost ships reached their centre, the enemy were tacking in succession; this obliged me to make again the same manœuvre, by which I brought on an action, which lasted upwards of four hours, when I found it necessary to bring to the squadron to cover the two captured ships, whose names are in the

* In the enemy's fleet there was no three-decked ship.

margin.* I have to observe, the enemy had every advantage of wind and weather during the whole day. The weather had been foggy, at times, a great part of the morning; and very soon after we had brought them to action, the fog was so very thick, at intervals, that we could, with great difficulty, see the ship ahead or astern of us; this rendered it impossible to take the advantages of the enemy, by signals, I could have wished to have done; had the weather been more favourable, I am led to believe, the victory would have been more complete.

I have very great pleasure in saying, every ship was conducted in the most masterly style; and I beg leave here publicly to return every captain, officer, and man, whom I had the honour to command on that day, my most grateful thanks, for their conspicuously gallant and very judicious good conduct.

The Honourable Captain Gardner, of the Hero, led the van squadron in a most masterly and officer-like manner, to whom I feel myself particularly indebted; as also to Captain Cumming, for his assistance during the action.

Enclosed is a list of the killed and wounded, on board the different ships. If I may judge from the great slaughter on board the captured ships, the enemy must have suffered greatly. They are now in sight to windward; and when I have secured the captured ships, and put the squadron to rights, I shall endeavour to avail myself of any opportunity that may offer, to give you some farther account of these combined squadrons.

"At the same time it will behove me, to be on my guard "against the combined squadrons in Ferrol, as I am led to be- "lieve, they have sent off one or two of their crippled ships last "night for that port; therefore, possibly, I may find it necessary "to make a junction immediately, off Ushant, with the whole "squadron."

I have the honour to be,
Sir, your most obedient servant,
R. CALDER, Vice-admiral.

Honourable Admiral Cornwallis.

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* S. Rafael, eighty-four guns, Firmè, seventy-four guns.

List of the ships of the squadron under the orders of Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder, Bart. on the 22d of July, 1805.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Hero	74	Hon. A. H. Gardner	1	4
Ajax	80	William Brown	2	16
Triumph	74	Henry Inman	5	6
Barfleur	98	George Martin	3	7
Agamemnon	64	John Harvey	—	3
Windsor Castle	98	Charles Boyle	10	35
Defiance	74	P. C. Durham	1	7
Prince of Wales	98	Vice-admiral Sir R. Calder Captain W. Cumming	3	20
Repulse	74	Hon. A. K. Legge	—	4
Raisonable	64	Josias Rowley	1	1
Dragon	74	Edward Griffiths	—	—
Glory	98	Rear-admiral Sir C. Stirling Captain Samuel Warren	1	1
Warrior	74	S. Hood Linzee	—	—
Thunderer	74	W. Lechmere	7	11
Malta	80	Edward Buller	5	40
		Frigates.		
Egyptienne	46	Hon. C. E. Fleming	No return.	
Syrius	36	W. Prowse	2	3
Frisk (Cutter)	—	Lieut. J. Nicholson	—	—
Nile (Lugger)	—	Lieut. G. Fennel	—	—

Total, 41 killed, 158 wounded.

(Signed) R. CALDER.

LONDON GAZETTE, *August* 6, 1805.

Admiralty Office, August 3, 1805.

Copy of a letter from Sir Robert Calder, Bart. Vice-admiral of the blue, to the Honourable William Cornwallis, Admiral of the white, &c. dated on board his Majesty's ship the Prince of Wales, the 25th of July, 1805.

SIR,

I am induced to send by the Windsor Castle, a triplicate of my despatch of the 23d instant. Owing to a very great omission of my secretary, who, from indisposition, and an interlineation in my first letter, neglected to insert the name of Rear-admiral Charles Stirling in my public thanks; I am therefore to request you will be pleased to cause the mistake to be corrected as early as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROBERT CALDER.

The force of the enemy in the action was as follows :—

Spanish Van.

Argonauta	80	Adm. Gravina	Rafael	84	Don Francis Mendez
Terrible	74		Firmè	74	Don Rafael Villavicencio
Espanna	64				
America	64				

French Centre.

Pluton	80		Bucentaure	84	Vice-adm. Villeneuve
Neptune	90		Atlas	74	
Montblanc	74		Berwick	74	

French Rear.

Formidable	80	Rear-adm. Dumanoir	Scipion	74	
L'Intrepide	74		L'Aigle	74	
Swiftsure	74		Achille	74	
Indomptable	80		Algeziras	74	Rear-ad. Magon.

Frigates.

L'Hortense	44	La Sirene	44
La Cornélie	38	La Thames	44
La Didon	44	Le Rhin	38
L'Hermoine	44		

We now offer the French official account; for the veracity of which our readers must exercise their own judgment.

Letter from Vice-admiral Villeneuve to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, dated on board the Bucentaure, in the road of Vigo, July 29, 1805.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I gave you an account of the rencontre I had on the 22d with an English squadron, composed, as I believe, of fifteen sail of the line. I had the honour of informing you at the same time of the manœuvres I practised to retain the advantage of the wind, and to disconcert the project of the enemy for placing my rear between two fires.

The fog, with which we were enveloped during the action, prevented me from giving such orders as might be necessary; but after an action of three hours I had every reason to think that I had the advantage of the action, when upon the fog clearing up, I missed two of the Spanish ships. I at first flattered myself that they got into some Spanish port, but as I have not since heard of them, and as one of them was dismasted, I think it possible they may have fallen into the power of the enemy.

It was in vain that on the 23d and 24th, I endeavoured to force the English Admiral to renew the action; he constantly avoided it. On the 26th, having lost sight of him, I steered for Ferrol, to unite under my flag his Catholic Majesty's squadron, commanded by Lieutenant-general Grandelana. For two days I contended against a fresh N. E. wind, and a heavy sea, which impeded my course so much that I determined to anchor in Vigo, in order to disembark the wounded, and some of the soldiers who were ill; and also to take in water, which the Achilles and the Algeziras in particular stood in need of, not having remained long enough in the Antilles to take any in.

In the rencontre of the 22d, we engaged at a considerable distance, and I send you a list of the killed and wounded, which is very inconsiderable. Your Excellency may be assured that I shall remain but a short time in this road, and that as soon as I have taken in water, I shall go in search of the English squadron, without, however, neglecting the mission with which I am charged.

As the English Admiral who engaged me has certainly three of his vessels rendered unfit to keep the sea, I do not think he can have more than twelve with him. I cannot praise too highly the skill and the noble conduct of Admiral Gravina. All the Spanish vessels fought with the utmost bravery; *but I am still at a loss to comprehend how it was that we lost the two ships that*

are missing.—Nevertheless, your Excellency will perceive, that the two disabled vessels might fall into the enemy's line, without its being in my power to secure them.

I beg you will assure the Emperor that I did my utmost to attack the enemy again; that I obstinately pursued them, and that they constantly declined the action. I cannot too highly praise my captains and crews.

I have the honour to be, &c.

VILLENEUVE.

Then follows an account of the killed and wounded, amounting to fifty-five killed and one hundred and sixteen wounded.

Taking an impartial review of the force and number of ships, with the known difference in the weight of metal, posterity may, on comparing this with other actions of the same war, think that Sir Robert Calder was severely treated. Villeneuve had the option of renewing the action, and declined it. The British Admiral had not the power at any time of renewing the action, unless his enemy concurred with him; though it is admitted, that he might have continued it longer on the evening of the 22d; but on this charge he was not tried.

The action off Ferrol was considered by most persons as a prelude to one of a more decisive nature. The officer, who brought the despatches to the admiralty, was Lieutenant Nicholson, of the Suwarrow lugger. In addition to the Admiral's letters, he gave much verbal information, and among other things stated, that Sir Robert Calder, when he quitted the Prince of Wales, the flag-ship, said to him, "Tell the lords of the admiralty I can bring the enemy to action again, and I certainly will do it." These words, afterward denied by Sir

Robert before a court-martial, and solemnly sworn to by Lieutenant Nicholson, before the Lord-mayor, caused a universally anxious expectation, and farther and more satisfactory accounts were hourly looked for; but on the arrival of one of our crippled ships into port, it was found that the British fleet, after being two days in company with the enemy, had parted with them, and that the combined fleet had got safe into Ferrol.

Of a battle begun, fought, and concluded in a fog, it would be difficult to say much, without the certainty of being led into error. That Sir Robert judged it necessary to bring to, in the evening, to secure the two ships he had taken, was no doubt unfortunate: had he continued sailing on a wind under moderate canvas, other disabled ships of the enemy, as well as the Firmè and San Rafael, would have fallen to leeward and been taken; but after all it was a victory which led to very important consequences.

Villeneuve, after keeping the sea two or three days, at length quitted the field of battle and returned to Ferrol, where he claimed the victory, and all France believed him, although he constantly hauled away from the British fleet whenever the latter stood towards him. Change of wind on the 24th gave our ships the weather-gage, but Sir Robert having no intention of renewing the action at that time, the hostile fleets separated. He considered the action he had fought, if not a decided victory, at least undeserving of censure, but his despatches met with a different reception

in England to what he had anticipated; the part marked with inverted commas was necessarily suppressed, as conveying very important information to the enemy, and the concealment produced an effect on the public mind much to his disadvantage, before he was put on his trial.

There was much, however, to be said in his favour. He had been ten months at sea, and instead of returning into port when he saw himself so greatly outnumbered, not only by the fleet he had defeated, but by another fleet of sixteen sail of the line at Ferrol, the Rochefort squadron being also at sea, Sir Robert immediately formed a detachment from his little fleet (reduced by the absence of the Windsor Castle), and sent four sail of the line, under Rear-admiral Stirling, off Rochefort; while, with nine sail, he continued off Ferrol, till the 11th of August, when a gale of wind, from S. W. drove him away, and he joined the Channel fleet off Ushant. Pleased with the conduct of the Vice-admiral, the brave Cornwallis sent him back on the 17th to Ferrol, with twenty sail of the line. On his arrival he found the combined fleets had sailed a week before; and learning that they had gone to Cadiz, he hastened thither, and joined Vice-admiral Collingwood. It was here that Sir Robert received the newspapers, which reflected so severely on his professional conduct, and he determined to apply for public investigation. In vain did the brave and generous Nelson entreat him to remain and share in the rich harvest of glory, which he saw preparing for the British fleet;

he assured him that the enemy would soon come out, and give him an opportunity of avenging himself for the unjust aspersions on his character. Sir Robert unfortunately persisted in his purpose. An outcry, almost as great as against the unhappy Byng, was raised against him, and Nelson, yielding to his earnest entreaties, allowed him to return to Spithead, in the Prince of Wales; the ship in which his flag had been flying. On his arrival, the court-martial which he had demanded was granted; and it assembled on board the Prince of Wales, in Portsmouth harbour, on the 23d of December, 1805. The officers composing the court were:—

Admiral (now Sir GEORGE) MONTAGU, President,
Vice-admiral J. HOLLOWAY,
Vice-admiral B. S. ROWLEY,
Rear-admiral EDWARD THORNBOROUGH,
Rear-admiral Sir I. COFFIN,
Rear-admiral J. SUTTON,
Captain R. D. OLIVER,
Captain J. A. WOOD,
Captain the Hon. THOMAS B. CAPEL,
Captain JAMES BISSET,
Captain JOHN IRWIN,
Captain J. SEATER,
Captain J. LARMOUR,

MOSES GREETHAM, Esq. Deputy Judge Advocate.

The Vice-admiral was tried upon his own letter; and the charges exhibited by Mr. Bicknell, the soli-

citor of the admiralty, were, for not having done his utmost to *renew* the engagement, and to take or destroy any ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage. The principal witnesses called by the court in support of the charges were Rear-admirals C. Stirling and G. Martin, Captain Durham, Captain Inman, and Mr. Craddock, master of the Glory. The evidence of these officers proved, that at the commencement of the action, on the 22d of July, the combined fleet consisted of twenty sail of the line, fourteen French, six Spanish, and seven frigates; and that on the following day they had eighteen sail of the line, and seven frigates. By the evidence of Rear-admiral Stirling it appeared, that the enemy was far to windward at daylight, on the 23d, when our van bore up to join the Admiral; soon after which the fleet wore, and ran to leeward to join the Malta, Thunderer, and prizes; after which the British fleet hauled to the wind, and lay to: while our fleet was running down to the ships to leeward, the enemy was pursuing, but on our fleet hauling to the wind, they did the same, and kept four leagues to windward of the British fleet during the 23d; sometimes bearing up towards them, but always preserving that distance. It appeared from the evidence, and was admitted by the Vice-admiral, that no effort whatever was made or intended to renew the action; and Captain Durham, of the Defiance, having made the signal to the Vice-admiral to know whether he should keep

sight of the enemy, was answered in the negative; and Sir Robert animadverted, with some severity, on the Captain's presumption in making such a signal.

Rear-admiral (now Sir George) Martin, stated, that on the morning of the 24th of July, about seven or eight o'clock, it was nearly calm, except that a light breeze sprang up from N. by E. which brought the enemy right astern; that they were at a considerable distance, the whole of their fleet not being in sight from the deck: and on being asked, by the court, whether the British fleet could, with advantage, have pursued the enemy on that day? he replied, "Every ship, but the Windsor Castle, appeared to me to be in a situation to pursue. I only speak from appearances, not having an opportunity to know the circumstances of the ships." On being asked, by the court, whether the Vice-admiral at any time, on the 24th, shewed a disposition to renew the action? Sir Robert Calder prevented the reply, by admitting that he never had any such intention. From the evidence of Captain Durham it was proved, that his ship was to windward of the enemy's fleet, on the morning of the 24th of July, when he made the signal above-mentioned, and that the enemy was standing towards Ferrol (then bearing S. E. distant one hundred and twenty-five miles) under topsails, top-gallant-sails, and foresail. By the evidence of Captain Inman, of the Triumph, it appeared that his ship had received much greater damage in her masts than could be perceived by the fleet; and that respected and

gallant officer also proved, that on the morning of the 23d, three of the enemy's ships were disabled, either by the loss of the head of the bowsprit, a fore-yard, or a main-topsail-yard, and three or four others were shifting their topsails; but he admitted that their situation was not reported to the Admiral. Captain Inman being asked, by the court, whether, on being ordered to chase by the Vice-admiral, he had not made the signal of inability? he nobly replied, "No; I did not consider it a time to make a signal of distress or inability." Here the evidence for the prosecution closed.

Sir Robert rested his defence, in the first instance, on his having defeated the enemy's fleet of superior force; secondly, in the vast superiority of the enemy in ships, at that time known either to be at sea, or ready for sea, in the ports of Rochefort, Ferrol, and Corunna, amounting in all to a force so far superior to his own, that, even in the opinion of the brave Cornwallis, he ought not to have exposed himself to them after their reinforcement.

The Vice-admiral dwelt with considerable emphasis on the consequences of a defeat; the ruin of his fleet, the invasion of Ireland, perhaps of England, for which Napoleon was at that time making every preparation. The court did not enter into this view of the question, but on the 26th of December gave the following sentence:—

At a court-martial assembled and held on board his Majesty's ship, Prince of Wales, in Portsmouth harbour, on the 23d day of December, 1805, and continued by adjournment from day to day until the 26th of the same month.

Pursuant to orders from the right honourable the lords commissioners of the admiralty, dated the 15th day of November last, and directed to the president; setting forth that Sir Robert Calder, bart. vice-admiral of the blue, had, by his letter to their lordships' secretary, dated the 13th day of September last, requested, for the reasons therein mentioned, that an inquiry may be made into his, the said Vice-admiral's, conduct, on the 23d day of July last, the day after the engagement with the combined fleets of France and Spain; or upon the whole or such part thereof (when in presence of the enemy) as should appear for the good of his Majesty's service, and for enabling him to give his reasons publicly for his conduct on that occasion.

And that their lordships thought fit, in compliance with the Vice-admiral's request, and for the reasons mentioned in his said letter, that a court-martial should be assembled, for the *purpose above-mentioned*, and for inquiring into *the whole* of the Vice-admiral's conduct and proceedings on the said 23d day of July, and into his subsequent conduct and proceedings, until he finally lost sight of the enemy's fleet; and to try him for not having done his utmost to renew the said engagement, and to take and destroy every ship of the enemy which it was his duty to engage. The court proceeded to inquire into the conduct and proceedings of the said Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder, with his Majesty's fleet under his command, on the said 23d day of July last; and also into his subsequent conduct until he finally lost sight of the enemy's fleet; and to try him for not having done his utmost to renew the said engagement, and to take or destroy every ship of the enemy which it was his duty to engage: and having heard the evidence produced in support of the charge, and by the said Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder in his defence, and what he had to allege in support thereof; and having maturely and deliberately weighed and considered the whole; the court is of opinion, that the charge of not having done his utmost to renew the engagement, and to take and destroy every ship of the enemy, has been proved against the said Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder; that it appears that his conduct has not been actuated either by cowardice or disaffection, but has arisen solely from error in judgment, and is highly censurable, and doth adjudge him to be severely reprimanded; and the said Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder is hereby severely reprimanded accordingly.

Signed by the Court, and

MOSES GREETHAM,
The Deputy Judge Advocate.

The sentence was evidently unexpected by the friends of the Vice-admiral. Sir Robert retired from the court overwhelmed with grief and mortification. How different would have been his fortune in life, and his character in history, had he taken the prophetic advice of Nelson. Calder never wanted bravery, but he had not that prompt decision of character so necessary to form a perfect sea-officer. His victory, in 1795, would have gained him a peerage: ten years of successful naval war, had taught us to expect more; and the splendid battle of Trafalgar placed most of our sea-fights in the shade. By that battle the navy learned the invaluable lesson, that *nothing was considered done, while any thing remained to do.*

Sir Robert Calder was a plain honest seaman, a zealous and an honourable man. His judges made a very just discrimination by imputing his failure to error in judgment: and Mr. Yorke, the first lord of the admiralty in 1810, appears to have felt for him, as an officer whose faithful services had not been requited by his country; he therefore kindly offered him the command at Plymouth, which Sir Robert accepted, and held for three years. He died in 1818, leaving a numerous circle of friends to lament his death and his misfortunes.

After the conclusion of the action, the combined fleets went into Ferrol, and thus terminated the threat of invasion. Napoleon immediately turned his forces towards the plains of Jena and Austerlitz, glad of an excuse to relinquish the more dangerous enterprise of invading Britain. From Fer-

rol and Corunna the French Admiral collected his ships and pushed on for Cadiz, whence he chased off Vice-admiral Collingwood, at that time (previous to Calder's joining him) with only three sail of the line. Collingwood stood to the southward, and allowed his powerful enemy to run once more into that port, whence in a few days he was destined to issue forth for the last time. As soon as Villeneuve had anchored, Collingwood resumed his station, and never quitted it until the great event of the 21st of October released him from farther anxiety, and rewarded his vigilance with unfading renown.

Circumstances of less importance, but of national interest, must now occupy a small portion of our attention.

Between the battles of Ferrol and Trafalgar there occurred one of a minor, but of a very interesting nature. Two well-manned frigates encountered each other off Cape Finisterre; these were the Phœnix, of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain T. Baker, and La Didon, which, to speak with candour, was a much larger ship; she had three hundred and thirty men, and carried twenty-eight French eighteen pounders on her main-deck, twelve thirty-six pound carronades and four long nines on her quarter-deck and forecastle. Captain Baker calls her a frigate of forty-four guns; if this be admitted, we must give nearly the same denomination to the Phœnix, which, including her carronades, we believe mounted forty-two guns, but was inferior in number of men; having only two

hundred and sixty-four. The action took place on the 10th of August, in lat. 43° 16′ N. and long. 12° 14′ W.: it was well contested, and bore much resemblance to the celebrated affair between the Blanche and Pique. It lasted three hours, and so well was the enemy's ship fought, that Captain Baker and his gallant crew had no very easy task to gain their prize. After a considerable slaughter on both sides, the larboard bow of the Didon came in contact with the starboard quarter of the Phœnix, a position which the enemy gallantly retained for three-quarters of an hour, and with his musketry did great damage to his opponent; but by the superior coolness of the British officers, and the use of their aftermost guns, the Didon was at length silenced and taken. She had twenty-seven men killed and forty-four wounded; the Phœnix had fifteen killed and twenty-eight wounded. The Didon, it appears by the letters of Napoleon, either then was, or recently had been, charged with important despatches connected with the expedition of Villeneuve. She was entirely dismasted, and taken in tow by her victorious adversary, after which both had a narrow escape from the combined fleet; and Napoleon reflected on Villeneuve for not having at least retaken the French frigate. It is singular that for this action Captain Baker did not receive any particular mark of approbation, and shortly after greater events occupied the public mind and absorbed its whole attention.

A small action, however brilliant, is unfortunately timed, if it come too near a great one; it is

entirely eclipsed, and never recovers its true splendour. The naval reader will comprehend the extent of this remark, by comparing the actions of the Carysfort and Castor, and the Phœnix and Didon, with those of the Nymphe and Cleopatra, the Crescent and the Union. While we gladly pay the well-earned encomium to the conduct of Captain (now Rear-admiral) Baker, let us not be unjust to that of Lord William Fitz-Roy, who, as Captain of the Æolus, of thirty-two guns, has been accused of declining an action with the Didon. It is sometimes the duty of an officer not to fight; and the sacrifice of reputation, though painful, is indispensable. As the question is highly important to the service, and mixed up with the naval events of 1805, we may be excused for dwelling on the subject. Lord William had been, on the morning of the 29th of July, charged with despatches by Admiral Cornwallis for Sir Robert Calder, and before he parted company received another order, of which the following is a copy:—

Ville de Paris, off Ushant, July 29, 1805.

(Secret.)

My Lord,

In addition to the orders given you this morning, I now send you (having this moment received it by the Nile) Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder's rendezvous, No. 52. (Cape Finisterre S. E. twenty-eight leagues) on which he intends to cruise for a few days, and afterward to leave the Dragon there for a week.

Your Lordship will therefore proceed, taking care of the enclosed despatch for the Vice-admiral; but on your not falling in with him, or getting any information of him or intelligence of

the enemy, you are, *at the expiration of seven days, to rejoin me*, after looking out for him.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your most obedient humble servant,
W. CORNWALLIS.

To the Right Hon. Lord William Fitz-Roy,
Captain of H. M. S. the Æolus.

Let us next see what steps were taken by Lord William in execution of these orders, for which purpose we turn to his log-book; where every transaction, in which his ship was concerned, is minutely related; and above all, that transaction which it is asserted should have covered him with disgrace, so clearly exposed and so openly stated, as to leave us nothing to desire. His Lordship explicitly declares, that the strange ship *was* a frigate; and he inserts in the public record of his ship every step which was taken while she was present.

On his way to join the Vice-admiral, he fell in with the Rochefort squadron, with whose movements it became a serious part of his duty to make himself acquainted; seeing them burn a merchant vessel in the morning of the 6th, he watched them narrowly during the whole of that day, and having lost sight of them in the evening, Lord William proceeded in search of the Vice-admiral.

On the 7th, at noon, the Æolus boarded an American from Bourdeaux to Charlestown, which had been boarded the day before by an English ship of the line, off Cape Prior, eight others in company. On the same day, at four o'clock, stood for a suspicious ship, in the S. S. E. which at *six bore up*

and made all sail—the Æolus did the same—at half-past seven, the stranger, still running away, shortened sail and hauled to the wind; the *ship a frigate with yellow sides and royal yards; rigged aloft.* This then was the Didon, from which, by the testimony of the French Captain, Lord William Fitz-Roy had run away! The very reverse is the fact. The French Captain thought proper to run, and on the 10th fell in with the Phœnix. That Lord William Fitz-Roy did not pursue her, was an exemplary act of obedience to his orders. A night's chase would have led him entirely off the station on which he was so urgently directed by his Admiral to seek for Sir Robert Calder, and on which he had, within twenty-four hours, seen an enemy's squadron, and gained intelligence of a British squadron being very near him. This was confirmed on the following day by a Prussian brig, which also informed him that the Rochefort squadron had sailed. On the 10th, he spoke the Dragon, of seventy-four guns, and from Captain Griffiths obtained information of the position of Sir Robert Calder; that he, Captain Griffiths, had been reconnoitring the enemy, and had found in the ports of Ferrol and Corunna, thirty-two sail of the line, besides frigates. On the following morning, at daylight, he fell in with Sir Robert Calder, delivered his despatches, and gave him all the important intelligence of which, by his Lordship's log, he appears to have been in possession. The first lesson to be inculcated in a military profession is comprised in two syllables—

"Obey." Mr. James admits that the Didon might, from the nature of her captain's orders, have avoided an action; yet, without knowing the orders of Lord William Fitz-Roy, denies him the same privilege. Vol. iii. p. 444, he says, "But as it is not customary for a British cruiser, *even if the bearer of despatches*, to be shackled with such orders, a serious charge attaches to the Æolus."

This is an assertion which cannot be supported for a moment, nor could any proposition be more fatal to the navy and the country, should it ever become the orthodox rule of service. What certainty can the admiralty or an admiral have, of their orders being speedily and faithfully conveyed, if the officers intrusted with the sacred charge are to follow their own views of personal honour or advantage?

Upon this view of the question, we think, the character of Lord William Fitz-Roy remains as pure and unblemished as that of any of his most distinguished brother officers. Far from any wish to conceal the transaction, he gives it the clearest insertion in his log; which, when presented to Sir Robert Calder, that gallant Admiral made the following remarkable observation: "I am extremely sorry, my Lord, that the orders under which you were acting would not admit of your following the enemy, as you would otherwise have done."

In the month of June, Captain F. L. Maitland, in La Loire frigate, sent his boats under the command of Lieutenant J. L. Yeo of that ship into the

bay of Camarinas, near Cape Finisterre, where they attacked and carried two Spanish privateers, although moored under a battery of ten guns. Lieutenant Yeo ordered Mr. Clinch to board the smallest vessel, while himself with the two cutters took the largest, mounting three eighteen pounders, four four pounders, and fifty men. It being perfectly calm, Mr. Yeo was unable to bring off both vessels, he therefore burnt the smaller one and came out with the larger, having only three of his men slightly wounded; many of the Spaniards were killed or drowned. The English had but thirty-five opposed to eighty Spaniards, who also fought under the protection of their fort. Having destroyed three small merchant-vessels lying in the port, Captain Maitland directed his course to the town and fort of Muros, and having prepared Mr. Yeo, with fifty officers and men, including the Lieutenants Mallocks and Douglas of the Royal Marines, he ran his ship in and came to an anchor. A small fort opened its fire upon him, but Lieutenant Yeo, with his party, instantly landed and spiked the guns, the Spaniards flying before him. A quarter of a mile farther on, another fort still stronger gave great annoyance to the ship. The Lieutenant with his party pushed forward, and the Spaniards not having secured the gate, the English entered, and the Governor fell dead under the sabre of Lieutenant Yeo. The Spanish officers shared the same fate at the hands of the British, and the men fled, leaving them in possession of the fort, on which they displayed the union. It was the 4th

of June, the birth-day of his late Majesty, King George III. The whole place was now in the power of Captain Maitland, who was permitted by the inhabitants to take away the vessels lying in the harbour: they were La Confiance, pierced for twenty-six guns, twelve and nine pounders, and a French privateer brig, pierced for twenty guns; neither of them had their guns on board. The latter, with a merchant brig in ballast, they burnt; the Confiance was brought away, and being purchased into the service, was commissioned as a sloop of war, and Lieutenant Yeo appointed to the command of her.

If the conduct of the victors was honourable in these achievements, their treatment to the captives and the inhabitants was still more so. The Bishop and one of the principal men came off to express their gratitude for the generosity with which they had been treated, no instance of pillage having occurred; and the Bishop offered them every refreshment which the place would afford.

In the month of December, the Loire, in company with the Egyptienne, fell in with a French frigate off Rochefort, and very soon brought her to action, which the French Captain maintained with great bravery until disabled, and twenty of his men killed and wounded, when he struck. The ship was called La Libre, mounted twenty-four eighteen pounders on her main deck, six thirty-two pound carronades, and ten long nine pounders on her quarter-deck and forecastle. Lieutenant P. C. Handfield commanded the Egyp-

tienne, in the absence of Captain Fleming. Captain Maitland, in the Loire, conducted the prize into port.

In the transactions of the year 1804, we have omitted to mention the gallant action between the Wolverine and the Blonde. Captain Henry Gordon commanded the British vessel, one of those built for a merchant-ship, and converted to a sloop of war, by the simple operation of cutting some ports much nearer to the water than they should have been, and placing in them guns and carriages fit for any thing but to fight with. In this vessel, having seventy-six men, and thirteen guns of different calibre, and a convoy to protect, Captain Gordon sailed for Newfoundland. On the 24th of March, in longitude 23° west, he fell in with the Blonde, a French frigate privateer of thirty guns, and a hundred and eighty men. Captain Gordon owns that he might have avoided an action, but chose to try the fortune of war, and was beat, owing entirely to the miserably defective equipment of the Wolverine. He, however, fought till his ship was sinking under him, and in a quarter of an hour after the prisoners were removed she went down; she had five men killed, and ten wounded, being a fifth part of her complement. Captain Gordon, though many years a prisoner, was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and, on his return to England, most honourably acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial.

CHAP. XIII.

Nelson's appointment to command in the Mediterranean—Proceeds to his station—Loss of the Indostan by fire—Approaching hostility of Spain—Fleet in Agincourt sound—Skirmishes off Toulon, between British and French fleets—Despicable falsehood of French admiral—Indignation of Nelson—Death of La Touche Treville—Boat expedition to Hieres-bay—French fleet puts to sea from Toulon—List of British fleet—Nelson's third voyage to Egypt—His reasons for going—French fleet puts back to Toulon—Nelson to the gulf of Palma—Gallant action of Arrow and Acheron—Capture of their convoy—Dey of Algiers dismisses British vice-consul—Gantheaume attempting to sail, is driven back by Lord Gardner—Villeneuve sails about the same time, and escapes—Is seen and pursued—His force and destination—Missiessy and the Rochefort squadron—Proceedings of Villeneuve—He raises the blockade of Cadiz—Is reinforced by seven sail of the line—Destination changed—He goes to the West Indies—Napoleon's three naval expeditions—He determines to take St. Helena—Affairs of the West Indies—Boats of the Tartar and Blanche—Commodore Hood fortifies the Diamond Rock—Action between the Osprey and Egyptienne—Between Egyptienne and Hippomanes—Commodore Hood and Sir Charles Green take Surinam—Arrival of the despatches—Bonaparte resolves to regain the colonies—Honourable Sir A. Cochrane goes from Ferrol in pursuit of Missiessy, who arrives at Martinique—Attacks Dominica, Nevis, St. Kitts, and Montserrat—Relieves the city of St. Domingo, and returns to Europe—Villeneuve—His route—Instructions—Orders to victual at Gibraltar—Magon, with four sail of the line, sails to join Villeneuve—Nelson, with the British fleet, in chase of the French—Victuals in Lagos-bay—Arrives at Barbadoes—Takes Lieutenant-general Sir W. Myers on board, and sails for Trinidad—Visits other islands, and goes to Antigua—Lands the troops—Sends home the Curieux with despatches

—Particulars of the recapture of the Diamond Rock—Nelson hears of Villeneuve, and ascertains that he has sailed for Europe—Follows him—Arrives off Cape St. Vincent—Length of the chase—He goes to Gibraltar to refit—Letters to Collingwood—Sails again—Joins the Channel fleet—Is ordered to Portsmouth—Arrival there.

Our readers are, no doubt, impatient to hear something of our favourite hero, whom we have scarcely noticed since the recommencement of the war.

Having been appointed to the command in the Mediterranean, Lord Nelson sailed in the Victory from Spithead, on the 20th of May, 1803. Captain George Murray, who so nobly led into action at Copenhagen, went out as captain of the fleet, and Captain S. Sutton in command of the ship; Captain T. M. Hardy, in the Amphion of thirty-two guns, accompanied the Admiral until they reached Ushant, when, joining Admiral Cornwallis, Nelson shifted his flag into the Amphion, and leaving the Victory as a temporary reinforcement to the Channel fleet, proceeded to Gibraltar, and thence to Toulon, where the Victory soon after rejoined him; he again returned to her, and on their going to Malta, an exchange took place between the Captains Sutton and Hardy; the former taking the command of the Amphion, the latter the Victory.

In the month of October, his ships being short of water, he bore up for the Madelena islands, where an excellent anchorage had been recently surveyed for him, by Captain G. F. Ryves of the Agincourt. Nelson named it "Agincourt

Sound;" it is situated in the straits of Bonifacio, between Corsica and Sardinia, on the northern extremity of the latter island. Nelson greatly preferred Sardinia to Malta, and fervently prayed that the British government would take possession of it, "If we do not," he says, "the French will." When at sea, he kept the fleet generally off Cape Palma, or Cape St. Sebastian. These being to the westward of Toulon, gave him the advantage in strong westerly gales of running into the bay of Rosas, or under the Hieres islands, for shelter; or, when the weather was moderate, of keeping a watch on the Spanish fleet in Carthagena, and preventing them from forming a junction with the French at Toulon. There was one circumstance which happened on this station, that does not appear to have been sufficiently dwelt upon by the biographers of Nelson, although it seems to have plunged him into more difficulty than all the other casualties of his arduous cruise. He had been ten months out of England, at sea the greater part of the time, and without having received any material supplies.

Government, aware of his situation, sent out the Indostan, a ship built for an Indiaman, of eleven hundred tons burden, loaded with every article of which the British squadron could be supposed to stand in need. This ship was commanded by Captain Le Gros, her crew consisted of about three hundred people, including passengers, women, and children; she arrived at Gibraltar in March,

1804, and sailed immediately, in company with the Phœbe frigate, to join Lord Nelson off Toulon. On the 30th she was separated from her consort, in a heavy gale of wind, in the gulf of Lyons; and on the 2d of April, at seven in the morning, when no ship was in sight, and they were thirteen leagues from the land, smoke was observed to issue from the fore hatchway. The hammocks were instantly got on deck, and the drum beat to quarters. The fire-engine was set to work, but with little effect; the smoke increased so much, as to prevent the people working on the orlop-deck, the hatches were therefore laid over and secured, the ports barred in, and every measure resorted to, in order to prevent the circulation of air. In the mean time they hove to, and hoisted the boats out; but to prevent the people rushing into them, the marines were kept under arms. Prepared for the worst, they made all sail for the land; providentially the wind was fair, and they stood in for the bay of Rosas, with signals of distress flying at each mast head, but no vessel was in sight to afford them relief. The fire rapidly increasing, the exertions of the Captain and his noble crew increased with the danger. Water was thrown down in torrents, and part of the powder was destroyed or thrown overboard; in doing this one man was suffocated, and the people were again forced to quit the lower decks.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, when they had been seven hours contending with the flames, they

made the land. The joy of this discovery is not to be described or felt by any but those who have been in such a perilous situation; but they had still much to do, the land was five leagues off, and at half-past two, the flames flew up the fore and main hatchways, as high as the lower yards. Some of the men now jumped overboard, to get to the boats, and many of them were drowned. Tarpaulins were kept over the hatches, and water still poured down, by which means the flames subsided a little. Many of the people lay apparently lifeless on the decks, from suffocation. The crisis was fast approaching, when human fortitude could do no more. Had not the officers been steady, all must have perished; the mizen-mast was on fire in the Captain's cabin, and the flames bursting from all the lee ports: at five o'clock they ran the ship on shore, about a mile from the beach, in the bay of Rosas. The Spanish boats came off to their assistance, but were afraid to approach near enough to be of any service. At half-past five she was on fire fore and aft, when with an heroic self-devotion, which can never be sufficiently extolled, they first sent away the women, the children, the sick, and the foreigners, after which, the good and gallant Captain, with his brave adherents, quitted the Indostan, and had scarcely reached the shore, when she blew up. The intrinsic value of the ship and cargo, in England, was estimated at 100,000*l.*: what must it have been had she reached the fleet she was intended to sup-

ply? Nelson by this accident was deprived of almost his last resource; yet he bore it like a man and a philosopher. He was infinitely more distressed at the loss of his despatches, which were taken in the Swift cutter, about the same time. In a letter to the Earl of St. Vincent, dated on the 19th of April, he says, speaking of Captain Le Gros, "If his account be correct (he is now upon his trial), he had great merit for the order in which the ship was kept. It must have originated from medicine chests breaking, or from wet getting down, which caused the things to heat. The preservation of the crew seems little short of a miracle. I never read such a journal of exertions in my whole life." Clerk and M'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 361.

By the sentence of the court-martial, the Captain, officers, and ship's company were most honourably acquitted. The fire was supposed to have originated in the breaking of a bottle of aquafortis, in the fore hold. In support of the reasonable conjecture of the Admiral, we might adduce many instances of ships in the cotton trade having been on fire in the hold during a great part of their voyage from China, owing to the cargo having been wet when compressed into the ship: hemp has been known to ignite from the same cause: and the dock-yard of Brest was set on fire by this means in 1757. New painted canvas or tarpaulin laid by before it is completely dry will take fire; and two Russian frigates were nearly burnt by

the accidental combination of a small quantity of the soot of burnt fir wood and hemp oil tied up with some matting.

Nearly a month before this disaster, Nelson had written to Sir Thomas Trowbridge, then a lord of the admiralty, stating the exigencies of his fleet; he had despatched a British agent to the Black Sea, to purchase in the Russian dominions a quantity of naval stores and provisions. About this time he was joined by the Royal Sovereign and Leviathan, and cruised off Cape Sepet, with only nine sail of the line.

When Nelson, in January, 1804, weighed from the Madelena islands, he directed Captain Parker, of the Amazon, to remain at anchor in that port, and to guard against any attempt which might be made by the French to invade Sardinia. The Spaniards were at that time so lukewarm towards us, that their conduct in withholding supplies almost amounted to open hostility; and Mr. Frere was desired by Lord Nelson to convey his Lordship's sentiments in the most forcible terms. He wanted frigates as much at that time as in his memorable campaign of 1798; he calls them the eyes of the fleet, an expression which ought never to be forgotten by those who are so fortunate as to command or to serve in that desirable class of vessels. A heavy gale of wind obliged him to take refuge in Agincourt sound; on the 8th of February, they ran in under reefed foresails, through the eastern passage, "which looked," says his

Lordship, "tremendous, from the number of rocks and the heavy sea breaking over them; but it is perfectly safe when once known. Captain Ryves's mark of the Pedestal-rock can never be mistaken." During the short interval of his absence, a squadron of frigates escaped out of Toulon, and landed one thousand men in Corsica.

In the month of April, with a view to decoy the French fleet to sea, Nelson directed Sir Richard Bickerton, with one division of the fleet, to the southward, so as not to be seen from the signal posts of Toulon.

In the month of May, the Canopus, Donegal, and Amazon, having stood close in to reconnoitre, were suddenly becalmed under Cape Sepet. The high lands about Toulon render the winds particularly baffling and uncertain; calms and gales of wind follow each other in rapid succession.

While the British ships lay, without the power of advancing or retreating, the French Admiral sent out five sail of the line, who bringing up a fine breeze from the land, a partial action ensued, but without any effect. The British ships soon caught the breeze and stood out, while the French ships returned to Toulon.

On the 14th of June, the Phœbe and Amazon having chased two French frigates into Hieres-bay, prepared to attack them, and the batteries being powerful, the Excellent was directed by Lord Nelson to support the two British frigates. This brought out La Touche Treville, with his whole

fleet, when our ships retreated to join the British fleet. Nelson, who desired to meet the enemy, stood close in; but the French Admiral, with eight sail of the line, opposed to five of ours, one division being still in the offing, hastened back to his anchorage, and had so little regard for his own veracity and personal honour as to assert, that he had chased Nelson away. The shameless falsehood gave much pain to our hero, who swore, if he ever took the French Admiral that he would make him eat his letter. Nelson sent home a copy of the Victory's log, which was considered a sufficient refutation of the silly gasconade. Let naval officers appreciate this compliment to the records of a ship of war. Let them, while they relate with scrupulous regard to truth every particular event, remember, that their own and their country's character is pledged for its veracity.

Gross as was the falsehood of La Touche Treville, it was not the less pleasing to the Emperor, who promoted his admiral to high honours, and promised him many more; but a sudden death occasioned, as it was supposed, by fatigue in his too frequent visits to the signal posts, by anxiety and mortification, disappointed the hopes of the Emperor, and disarmed the resentment of Nelson. Admiral Villeneuve, on the death of La Touche Treville, was sent to command the Toulon fleet.

In the month of July, the French received a very mortifying check from the boats of three British frigates, the Narcissus, Captain Donnelly, the

Seahorse, Honourable C. Boyle, and Maidstone, Honourable G. Elliot. The boats under the orders of Lieutenant John Thompson went into Hieres-bay, and attacked about twelve of their vessels lying at La Vaudour, and though most obstinately resisted by a heavy fire of great guns and musketry, succeeded in destroying nearly the whole of them. Lord Nelson was highly delighted with the gallantry displayed by the Lieutenants Thompson, Parker, Lumley, and Moore. Lieutenant Lumley suffered the amputation of his left arm, at the shoulder joint, and, like his heroic chief, seldom came out of action without a wound.

The events off Toulon for the remainder of the year are scarcely worth our attention. In the middle of November, Nelson heard of the capture of the Spanish squadron by that of England, under the command of Captain (now Sir Graham) Moore; but the orders which he received from home were cautiously worded respecting the Spaniards, with whom the British government, it would seem, still hoped to preserve terms of friendship.

On the 17th of January, 1805, Villeneuve, in compliance with his urgent orders, took advantage of Nelson's absence to weigh and put to sea. His fleet amounted to eleven sail of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs; and had on board a body of between three and four thousand troops. They were soon discovered by the Active and Seahorse British frigates, which, on the 19th, conveyed news of the event to Nelson, who lay at anchor with his

fleet in Agincourt sound. Not a moment was lost; the fleet weighed, and ran through the narrow channel between the island of Biscie and Cape Ferro, which forms the eastern side of the anchorage. The ships composing the fleet at this time were—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
The Victory	100	(Flag) Captain T. M. Hardy
Royal Sovereign	100	Rear-admiral Sir R. Bickerton Captain Steuart
Canopus	80	Rear-admiral G. Campbell
Belleisle	74	Captain W. Hargood
Conqueror	74	——— Israel Pellew
Donegal	74	——— P. Malcolm
Spencer	74	——— Hon. R. Stopford
Superb	74	——— R. G. Keats
Tigre	74	——— B. Hallowell
Leviathan	74	——— Henry W. Bayntun
Swiftsure*	74	——— Mark Robinson
Active	38	——— R. H. Mowbray
Seahorse	38	——— Hon. C. Boyle.

It was dark before the British fleet could get out, which they accomplished with the utmost difficulty, and by the nicest skill, each following her second, the Victory leading, and the others guided by her lights. This was a great enterprise of the great Nelson. The night was dark, the channel narrow, admitting but one ship at a time, and as the gale was fresh, it became very difficult to distinguish the breakers from the waves, in deep water; few officers, even of daring intrepidity, and tried courage in action, would have ventured on this desperate effort to get to sea; but

* A new ship of that name, built in compliment to the services and defence of the old one.

Nelson, having a soul adapted to every danger, boldly led the way, and got his fleet out in safety: He ran down the east coast of Sardinia, on his way to Sicily; the wind backed round from N. W. to S. W. and blew with such extreme violence, that the ships were reduced to their storm stay-sails. On the 22d, he was joined by the Seahorse, which he had detached on the evening of the 19th, round the south end of Sardinia, to gain information: she had been chased by the Cornelie, a French frigate, but had lost sight of her in the gale; the Seahorse was then ordered to Naples, and the Active to cruise off the island of Serpentina, at the south-west extremity of Sardinia. On the 26th, when off Cape Carbonara, he was joined by the Phœbe, commanded by the Honourable Captain Capel, from whom he learnt that one French ship of the line, supposed to have been the Indomptable, was disabled and seen standing into the bay of Ajacio, in Corsica, but no intelligence could be gained of the destination of their fleet. The anxious and indefatigable hero, revolving in his mind the various circumstances attending the departure of Villeneuve from Toulon, became convinced that Egypt alone was his object, and proceeded thither in search of him. His reasons for this important step are unanswerable, and are given in a letter to the late Lord Melville, then first lord of the admiralty. He had, after quitting Agincourt sound, proceeded with all possible haste to the Faro of Messina, through which he

beat with a press of sail against a gale of wind, that astonished even his experienced and daring followers.

"Having first seen that Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily were safe," he says, "the wind had blown strongly from the north-east to south-east a fortnight before they sailed; therefore they might without difficulty have gone to the westward. Secondly, they came out with gentle breezes, at N. W. and N. N. W. Had they been bound to Naples, the most natural thing for them to have done would have been to run along their own shore to the eastward, where they would have had ports every twenty leagues to take shelter in. Thirdly, they bore away on the evening of the 18th, with a strong gale at N. W. or N. N. W. steering S. or S. by W. It blew so hard, that the Seahorse went more than thirteen miles an hour to get out of their way. Desirable as Sardinia is for them, they could get it without risking their fleet, although certainly not so quickly as by attacking Cagliari; however, I left nothing to chance in that respect, and therefore went off Cagliari. Having afterward gone to Sicily, both to Palermo and Messina, and thereby given encouragement for defence, and knowing all was safe at Naples, I had only the Morea and Egypt to look to; for although I knew one of the French ships was crippled, yet I considered the character of Bonaparte, and that the orders given by him on the banks of the Seine, would not take into consideration winds or weal-

ther; nor indeed could the accident of even three or four ships alter, in my opinion, a destination of importance; therefore such an accident did not weigh in my mind, and I went first to the Morea, and then to Egypt: the result of my inquiries at Coron and Alexandria confirms me in my former opinion." This letter is given at length in Clerk and M'Arthur, to whom we apologize for the liberty we have taken in copying a part of it. It was written on the 14th of February, on Nelson's return from Egypt, when one hundred leagues to the westward of Malta, and on the day that he received the account of the arrival of Villeneuve at Toulon. The French Admiral soon after he had sailed met with a violent gale of wind from the westward, which dispersed his fleet and disabled his ships, and he was glad to get back to Toulon, after an absence of a few days. On the 27th of February, Nelson went to Cagliari for water. On the 10th of March, he cleared the gulf of Palma, and got to the westward of Sardinia; and on the 12th, having got sight of Toulon, and seen the French fleet, he resumed his station off Cape St. Sebastian, the southern horn of the bay of Rosas, in Catalonia. On the 25th, he returned to St. Pietro; and on the 27th, anchored in the gulf of Palma, where he found his victuallers, and was joined by Rear-admiral Louis, in the Canopus, commanded by Captain F. W. Austin. Having completed his ships, he returned once more to his station. His letter to Collingwood, just before he returned to

Pulla-bay, will best shew the state of the body and mind of this wonderful officer.

Victory, March 13, 1805.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Many, many thanks for your kind remembrance of me, and for your friendly good wishes, which from my heart I can say are reciprocal. I am certainly near going to England, for my constitution is much shook, and nothing has kept me here so long but the expectation of getting at the French fleet. I am told the Rochefort squadron sailed the same day as that from Toulon. Bonaparte has often made his boast, that our fleet would be worn out by keeping the sea, that his was kept in order, and increasing, by staying in port; but he now finds, I fancy, if *emperors* hear truth, that his fleet suffers more in one night, than ours in one year; however, thank God, the Toulon fleet is got in order again, and I hear the troops embarked, and I hope they will come to sea in fine weather. The moment the battle is over I shall cut; and I must do the same, if I think, after some weeks, that they do not intend to come out for the summer. We have had a very dull war, but I agree with you that it must change for a more active one.

I beg, my dear Coll, that you will present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Collingwood, and believe me ever and ever your most sincere and truly attached friend,

NELSON and BRONTE.

While Nelson was in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, two frigates of the fleet of Gantheaume remained at sea, and on the 4th of February they fell in with the Arrow sloop of war, commanded by Captain R. B. Vincent, and the Acheron bomb, Captain A. Farquhar. These vessels had with them a convoy of about thirty sail from Malta, bound to Gibraltar. The two captains gallantly resolved to defend their charge to the last against this very superior force. The first care of

Captain Vincent, the senior officer, was to make the signal for his convoy to disperse, but owing to the very light winds the order could not be readily obeyed; and the master of one ship was so inexcusably negligent as to let his convoy signals and instructions fall into the hands of the enemy. No occurrence of any moment took place until the following morning, when about half-past four one of the frigates hailed the Arrow, and desired the Captain to hoist his boat out, and go on board. This of course was declined; and on the Acheron coming up immediately after, a smart action commenced between the French frigate and the two British vessels, whose great object was to keep between the convoy and the enemy. The other frigate got into action about seven o'clock, and the sloops continued the unequal fight until the Acheron, by light and variable wind, was separated from her consort, and followed by the Hortense, which giving a parting broadside to the Arrow, greatly disabled her. She continued however to engage her opponent, the second frigate, for some time longer, till at length completely overpowered, four of his guns dismounted, his rudder disabled, and his ship a wreck, with thirteen men killed and twenty-seven wounded, the gallant Captain Vincent was compelled to surrender, at half-past eight in the morning, to the French frigate L'Incorruptible, of forty-two guns, and six hundred and fifty men, including troops. The defence of the Acheron was equally obstinate,

being so long sustained by her commander, that as soon as the prisoners could be removed she was set on fire. The Arrow sunk very shortly after the action. Thus the British sloops of war having made a noble defence, were neither of them taken into port; and the enemy had no easy victory. They however took seven or eight sail of the convoy, and got safe into Toulon, where the Incorruptible was found so much damaged as to be unable to proceed to sea with Villeneuve in the following month. The Hortense had forty-eight guns, and an equal number of troops as her consort. Both the British commanders were promoted to the rank of post-captain, and were afterward decorated with an order of merit for their gallant conduct.

The Dey of Algiers having dismissed Mr. Falcon, the British vice-consul, from his dominions, Nelson sent Keats, in the Superb, to demand reparation for the insult. The affair was many months before it could be satisfactorily adjusted, although it never amounted to open hostility.

While Nelson, on the 27th of March, was refitting his ships at St. Pietro, Gantheaume was at the same moment making what the French call a "demonstration," with a fleet of one or two and twenty sail of the line, he ventured out of Brest as far as Bertheaume roads; but Lord Gardner, with eighteen sail of the line, being close at hand, gave chase, and compelled him to seek safety again under his batteries.

The fleet at Toulon weighed nearly about the same time, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, who in the battle of the Nile commanded the rear division of the French fleet, and escaped in the Genereux.

Equally fortunate in this instance, he so effectually eluded the pursuit of Nelson, as to afford the longest chase recorded in history; a chase of nearly seven thousand miles, and which terminated in a battle equally remarkable.

On sailing from Toulon, about the 2nd of April, Villeneuve was seen on the 4th, by the Active and Seahorse frigates. The Active immediately proceeded in search of Lord Nelson, whom she found in the straits of Bonifacio; and our admiral was very soon under sail in pursuit of him. But before we give an account of his proceedings, we shall follow the French Admiral to the West Indies, thence back to Cape Finisterre, where he was met by a British fleet and defeated.

Villeneuve had under his orders twelve sail of the line, six frigates, two corvettes, and some transports, with a body of eight or nine thousand troops, under the command of General Lauriston. Missiessy, with the Rochefort squadron, had sailed from Isle D'Aix, on the 11th of January; he had with him five sail of the line, and two thousand troops, under the command of General La Grange. Had this squadron joined Villeneuve, it would have made a formidable combination; but this, as we shall see, did not take place. Villeneuve kept

on the coast of Spain, and on the 7th was no farther advanced than Carthagena, where he expected to have been joined by six Spanish ships of the line, which however were either not ready, or the court of Madrid (not over-zealous) was unwilling they should come out. Not wishing to spend much time in persuading them, Villeneuve took advantage of an easterly wind, and steered for the straits of Gibraltar, which he passed on the 9th, raised the blockade of Cadiz, driving Sir John Orde from before that place; who, with six sail of the line, made the best of his way to join the Channel fleet, thus increased to twenty-four sail of the line, before the port of Brest.

Off Cadiz, Villeneuve was joined by L'Aigle, a French seventy-four gun ship, and two corvettes, which had been lying in that port. Gravina, with six sail of the line of Spanish ships, and two thousand troops, came out immediately after; and the combined fleet, now consisting of thirteen French, and six Spanish, besides frigates and transports, steered to the westward, instead of going to Ferrol, as had been first intended. This plan was deferred; the West India islands were the first objects of attack, England the second. On the news of the sailing of this fleet, uncertain at the same time what had become of Missiessy, or what steps had been taken by Nelson, the cabinet of St. James's must have felt no inconsiderable alarm.

We have observed that Napoleon had planned

three naval expeditions: the first was that under Rear-admiral (now Viscount) Missiessy, who, with the Rochefort squadron, was to relieve Martinique and Guadaloupe, take Dominica and St. Lucia, and carry succours to the city of St. Domingo.

The second expedition was that under Villeneuve, who was to retake Surinam, and the other Dutch colonies (the conquest of which had then just been completed, by Commodore Hood and Sir Charles Green, the particulars we shall soon relate); after this, if he could, he was to take Barbadoes.

The third expedition was to be formed by a detachment from the second, of two ships of the line, two frigates, and two brigs, under the command of an able officer, and to have on board two thousand troops under General Lauriston. These were to take St. Helena, and establish a cruising squadron there, then ravage all our settlements on the coast of Guinea, burning, destroying, or laying under contribution, every one of them. Singular, says the Count de Dumas, that Bonaparte on the eve of his coronation, should have been so intent on the capture of St. Helena! The sailing of Villeneuve and Missiessy naturally brings us to the West Indies, where, in the preceding year, events of some importance are to be related: and a few instances of naval valour must not pass unnoticed.

On the coast of St. Domingo, the Lieutenants Mullah and Lockyer, of the Tartar frigate, rowed

up in the face of the enemy at noon-day, boarded a privateer of ten guns and fifty men, regardless of their fire of great guns and musketry, and carried her; killing nine of her men, and wounding six others: two Englishmen only were wounded in this affair.

Captain Mudge, of the Blanche frigate, watched the Caracol passage, the eastern entrance to the harbour of Cape François, by which the French kept up the communication with their neighbours, the Spaniards, on the east end of the island. What spot or hiding-place was there, on its coasts, into which our boats and small vessels did not penetrate in search of prizes? An armed schooner, in Nov. 1803, was seen coming out of this passage, and was instantly attacked by the long boat of the Blanche, under the command of Mr. John Smith, a master's mate; a contest of ten minutes on her deck decided her fate, and she was brought out. She mounted a long nine pounder, and had thirty men, and was one of that beautiful class of vessels called Balahou; she had one man killed, and five wounded; the boat had one killed and two wounded.

Sir Samuel Hood, ever mindful of what would most conduce to the honour of his country, spent much of his time in watching the island of Martinique, and Fort-Royal-bay, the chief resort. Six miles to windward of this, and one mile from Cape Diamond, at the entrance of Marin-bay, lies the Diamond Rock, in form very much resembling

a round haystack; on one side overhanging its base, but having deep water all round it. To place a battery on the top of this rock, would at first sight appear impracticable. Its altitude is about six hundred feet, a few bushes grow on the top (so they appear to the distant spectator); they consist of the wild fig-tree, whose roots by age have acquired a strength and connexion with the interstices of the rock, offering some security to the fastening of a cable. Having mounted its crumbling sides, rarely perhaps never before trodden by man, our enterprising officers and men succeeded in carrying up a line, and, ultimately, a stream cable of the Centaur, which was firmly moored by the side of the rock; and with one end of this cable clinched round a projecting rock, and the other on board the ship, a communication was established from one to the other. To the cable a traveller was affixed, similar in principle to that which children put on the string of a kite; to this a twenty-four pounder was attached, and by means of tackles conveyed to the top of the rock, another followed, and at last their carriages, shot, powder, and tools, with every article requisite for the support of a commander, two lieutenants, and one hundred and twenty men. The French from the island first beheld the work with contempt, and next with astonishment. Sir Samuel Hood gave it the name of the Diamond Rock Sloop of War, with the establishment of a vessel of that class;

and Captain J. W. Morris was appointed to the command.

The occupation of this rock gave the enemy much trouble, and caused them serious loss to regain it. This post, in conjunction with the cruisers, totally intercepted the trade between the south part of the island and Fort Royal; obliging the trade to pass outside the rock, the vessels became more exposed to capture. In addition to this, the Diamond Rock, as a signal post, was a place of no small advantage.

In March, 1804, a very spirited action was fought by the Osprey sloop of war, commanded by Captain Younghusband, and a French privateer of thirty-six guns, and two hundred and sixty men, called the Egyptienne. When seen by the Osprey she had three other vessels in company. After a close action of one hour and twenty minutes, the enemy escaped by superior sailing, and her convoy flew different ways. The Osprey had one man killed and sixteen wounded.

Six days after this, the Egyptienne was again brought to action, by the Hippomanes sloop of war, commanded by Captain Conway Shipley; after a chase of fifty-four hours, and a running fight of three more, the Egyptienne surrendered. Captain Shipley ascertained that, in the action with the Osprey, she had eight men killed and nineteen wounded. Both the British commanders acquired great credit for their gallantry.

In the month of April, 1804, Commodore Hood,

and Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Green, with the naval and military forces (about two thousand troops) under their respective commands, undertook the reduction of the Dutch settlements of Surinam, on the main land of South America. The forces assembled at Barbadoes, and on the 6th of April sailed for their destination. On the 25th they reached the shallow coast of the continent, and came to an anchor ten miles from the shore, off the mouth of the river of Surinam. A strong detachment, under the command of Brigadier-general Maitland, and Captain C. Shipley of the Hippomanes, was sent to make a landing at the mouth of the Warappa creek, about ten leagues to the eastward of Surinam river, where the enemy occupied a post. The object of this diversion was, to obtain a communication by water with the Commewina river, and to procure plantation boats in sufficient numbers to transport the troops down that river, into the rear of the fort of New Amsterdam, and also to cut off a considerable force of the enemy, stationed at Fort Brandwacht, on the Mud creek.

On the same day, the Emerald, Pandour, and Drake, went in to attack Braam's Point, where there was a fort of seven eighteen pounders, which after a few broadsides they silenced, and a detachment of troops landed and took possession of it. This battery commanded the entrance of the river of Surinam, into which our frigates and small vessels entered. The Commodore hoisted his broad

pendant on board the Emerald, as the Centaur, from her draught of water, could not approach. Captain M. Maxwell of the Centaur, and Captain Drummond of the 60th regiment, were sent up under a flag of truce to summon the Governor of Surinam to surrender. This his Excellency refused to do, and no time was lost in preparing to compel him.

Nothing, says Sir Charles Green in his despatch, can be more difficult of approach, than the coast about Surinam; numerous and extensive shoals, an uncleared country, thick woods or jungle extending to the water's edge, no landing but at high water, and at particular places, and from the swampy nature of the country, it is only to be penetrated by the rivers. The shores on each side of the river of Surinam are equally difficult of access, until you reach the battery of Frederici, with the exception of the plantation called Resolution. The enemy were therefore very strongly fortified with forts, ships of war, and armed vessels, commanding the river. On the confluence of the Surinam with the Commewina river, stands the fort of Amsterdam, mounting eighty pieces of cannon. Fort Leyden, near the same spot, on the right bank of the Surinam, has twelve heavy guns. This fort is opposite to and commanded by Fort Amsterdam, at the distance of two thousand yards. The forts Frederici and Purmurent, lower down the river, occupy the right and left banks, with ten and twelve guns each. The approaches to these

forts are through swamps, marshes, and woods, almost impracticable; and the fire of the works, crossing each other, completely commands the channel of the river.

The town of Paramaribo is defended towards the water by a battery of ten guns, called Fort Zelandia. On the 28th, the squadron, with the transports, moved up the river, to attack Fort Purmurent. On the 29th, Lieutenant-colonel Shipley, of the Royal Engineers, having ascertained that a path might be practicable through the woods, by which forts Leyden and Frederici could be attacked with success, a party of two hundred soldiers and seamen, under the command of Brigadier-general Hughes, supported by the Captains Maxwell, Ferris, and Richardson, of the Royal Navy, landed between the hours of ten and eleven at night, and proceeded through the woods to the fort, led by the negro guides. Although a heavy fall of rain had rendered the paths (at all times difficult) almost impassable, such was the public spirit and zeal of our countrymen, that they overcame every obstacle with the assistance of their sabres and felling axes; and after a tedious march of five hours, got into the rear of Fort Frederici, where, as they were forming into columns for the attack, they were received with a heavy fire of grape and musketry. Undaunted by this salute, our men pushed forward and entered the fort with fixed bayonets, the enemy flying to Fort Leyden; but in their re-

treat they fired a train, which blew up their magazine, and severely wounded many of our officers. Fort Leyden was next carried with the same invincible spirit, although the way to it lay along a narrow path, enfiladed by five heavy guns, whose discharges of grape, aided by vollies of musketry, could not arrest the progress of our troops. They entered the fort, and hoisted the British flag; the enemy called for quarter, which was nobly granted; the captain, some officers, and one hundred and twenty men, were made prisoners. From the position they had gained, the British found they could open a fire on Fort Amsterdam. The command of the Commewina river ensured them supplies, gave them possession of the finest part of the colony, and the means of joining General Maitland's corps, which, we before observed, was detached to the mouth of the Warappa creek. That gallant officer, having effected a landing, had taken a battery, and, on the 3d of May, a sufficient number of boats being procured, he came triumphantly down the Commewina, and formed the desired junction with the body of the army, now approaching very near to Fort Amsterdam.

The Dutch Governor, on seeing their successes, thought farther resistance useless; he therefore sent out a flag, desiring to capitulate. The place was taken possession of on the 4th, and a Dutch frigate and brig fell into our hands: thus the rich colony of Surinam was added to the British dominions. All public property, and all Dutch ships

or vessels, in the colony, were given up to the captors.

The frigate taken was the Proserpine of thirty-two guns, eighteen pounders, and the corvette Pylades of eighteen guns. Our total loss on this occasion was five killed and eight wounded; among the former was Lieutenant Smith of the Centaur. The Commodore, for this and his former brilliant services, was created a Knight of the Bath, and held the command till the following year, when he was succeeded by Rear-admiral the Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane.

When Captain Maxwell arrived in England with the despatches, the news soon reached the Emperor Napoleon, who, incensed by these repeated disasters to the French and Dutch colonies, resolved to send forth his fleets and his armies to regain them. His orders and his plans, already referred to, shew the anxiety of his mind. Gantheaume, Villeneuve, Missiessy, Grandelana, Magon, all the admirals, French and Spanish, and even Dutch, if they could get out, were ordered to be on the alert to escape; to go to the West Indies, and to ravage and destroy, to burn and to pillage, without mercy.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane had the command off Ferrol, when, in February, 1805, he heard of the sailing of Missiessy, and at the same time received orders to go in pursuit of him. He had with him six sail of the line; Northumberland, seventy-four (flag), St. George, ninety-eight,

Eagle, seventy-four, Atlas, seventy-four, Spartiate, seventy-four, and Veteran, sixty-four. He called off Lisbon, Madeira, and St. Jago (Cape de Verds), for intelligence, but gaining none, proceeded to Barbadoes, where he arrived on the 3d of April; learnt that Missiessy had been to Martinique and Dominica, and was supposed to have gone against Jamaica. Taking the Centaur under his orders, Sir Alexander proceeded to that island, where he arrived on the 19th of April; here nothing had been seen of Missiessy, and Rear-admiral Dacres, who had assumed the chief command on that station, detained all the ships except the Northumberland, in which Sir Alexander Cochrane returned to Barbadoes, where he had been appointed commander-in-chief.

When off Antigua he heard of another and more formidable fleet having arrived at Martinique; this hastened his return to Barbadoes, where the Spartiate must have arrived nearly at the same time from Jamaica, and where he was soon joined by Lord Nelson.

Missiessy reached Martinique on the 20th of February, and having landed the ammunition and other stores destined for its relief, sailed on the following evening for Dominica, off which island he appeared before daylight on the morning of the 22d, and being close to Scot's Head, the southernmost point, his frigates received the fire of the batteries. As the day dawned, the squadron was found to consist of five sail of the line, three fri-

gates, two brigs, and small craft. On board of them were embarked the General La Grange, with three thousand troops. The ships had all British colours flying, and as the fire opened upon them from Fort Young, they changed them to French. At the same time the boats put off with the troops, to effect a landing in the bay of Rousseau, under cover of their gun-boats and schooners. They first attempted to land on the left of the town, but were so gallantly received by Major-general (the late highly respected and much lamented Sir George) Prevost, and the 46th, with the first West India regiment, that they were compelled to seek a more favourable place to disembark. While this was passing, the fire of the whole squadron was poured incessantly into the town of Rousseau, which is unfortunately situated on the shore of a bay whose depth of water will admit a ship of any draught within musket-shot. Their fire was returned with much spirit and effect by the captains and crews of the merchant-ships in the bay, who manned ten twenty-four pounders, and three eighteen pounders on the different batteries. The enemy at first retreated with loss and disorder, but soon rallying they made good their landing. Whether it was by accident, or by design of the enemy, or of some of the negroes, is not known; but the town soon took fire in several places, and being built of light and combustible materials, was nearly consumed to ashes. The Major-general, after a most gallant and masterly defence, finding the force of the

enemy was above any thing he could muster, independently of their squadron, and seeing no hope of successful resistance, gave permission to the President to make terms of capitulation for the town, while he (the General) retreated with all the troops he could collect to the fort of Prince Rupert's Head, at the other extremity of the island, driving before him all the cattle and supplies he could procure. Having entered the fort he was summoned by General La Grange to surrender, but returned a positive refusal. As La Grange had no time to waste in the reduction of the fort, and Missiessy no doubt expected to see the British squadron to windward, both were willing to shorten their visit; accordingly, having levied a heavy contribution, and destroyed or taken away most of the stores, they embarked at the end of five days, and steered for Guadaloupe, having lost about three hundred men in killed and wounded. The loss of the islanders was not more than forty. At Guadaloupe the French Admiral landed supplies, and sailed immediately after for Nevis, where he made the whole garrison prisoners, took all the merchant-vessels, levied a contribution, and sailed for St. Kitt's and Montserrat, repeating the same operation at both these islands. Thence he returned to Martinique, where he arrived on the 14th of March: here he could not have remained long, as, on the 28th, he appeared, in pursuance of his orders, off the ill-fated city of St. Domingo where the brave General Ferrand, with two thou-

sand five hundred French and Spanish troops, was closely besieged by the negroes on land, and blockaded by the British cruisers by sea. We cannot but admire the constancy, virtue, and military conduct of an enemy who could surmount so many pressing difficulties. On the 28th of March, the French squadron, in a line drawn out to its utmost extent by the addition of the frigates and sloops, appeared before the city. The Generals La Grange and Claparede landed with their reinforcements; the blacks in their turn were attacked and defeated with immense loss, and the siege raised. Having left one thousand men, ten thousand stand of arms, and one hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, Missiessy immediately set sail for Europe, and arrived at Rochefort the 20th of May, four months and nine days after his departure. The last act of his voyage in the West Indies was more honourable than the others: he had relieved a garrison, which without his assistance must have fallen into the hands of a cruel and vindictive enemy. His other exploits, though executed with courage and address, will never do him honour as a warrior: it was in fact degrading to his rank and character to send him with such a force on an enterprise of so little importance. Vice-admiral the Viscount Missiessy commanded at Toulon in 1818, and the author was particularly indebted to him for admission to, and minute inspection of, the dock-yard at that port.

Villeneuve, after taking his departure from

Europe, reached Martinique on the 14th of May; and without having sent any detachment to take St. Helena, or made the smallest effort to capture Surinam, or the four islands, which by his instructions he had been desired to attempt, he anchored with his fleet in Fort Royal-bay, and seemed too happy to have escaped the pursuit of his invincible enemy.

In the mean time events of the highest importance were preparing: Napoleon had seized the iron crown of Lombardy. Russia had a vast army to act against him. The Emperor of Austria was secretly his enemy. The Archduke Charles, who wished for peace, was displaced from the presidency of the Aulic Council. Austria again accepted the subsidies of England, which were conveyed up the river Elbe; and the third coalition was the last political act of the immortal Pitt, who lived to hear of the capitulation of Ulm, the battle of Trafalgar, and the death of Nelson.

The torture in which the mind of Napoleon was kept by his uncertainty of the destination of Nelson, is shewn by the numerous orders sent out to his admirals. Those to Villeneuve of the 8th of May, 1805, though written more than a month after his departure, are called "Premier projet d'instruction à L'Amiral Villeneuve;" these are given at length in the *Précis*, vol. xi. p. 247.

The Admiral was first required, on his return from the West Indies, to form a junction with the Ferrol and Rochefort squadrons, which would give

him a fleet of thirty-four sail of the line, viz. nineteen French and fifteen Spanish. He was to manœuvre so as to join Gantheaume, whose fleet he would find between Bertheaume and Camaret bay, moored under strong batteries, which, Napoleon says, he had caused to be erected. He was to make the Lizard, in order to avoid meeting our blockading fleet; and, if a battle was inevitable, he was to bring it as near as possible to Brest: "Your forces after this will be so considerable that you will steer for Boulogne, where *we shall be* in person. Should the wind favour you off the Lizard, you are at liberty to come on to Boulogne without going to Brest. This would give you three or four days advance on the enemy, and if your presence renders us master of the seas for three days, we shall be able to complete our expedition of one hundred and sixty thousand men, embarked on board of two thousand vessels. Cherbourg is armed and can protect you against any force. We have provisions for you at that place, Brest, and Boulogne, relying entirely on your zeal, experience, and local knowledge to fulfil our intentions. From our knowledge of the enemy's force, we have reason to think that a fleet of more than sixteen sail of the line before Boulogne will give us the superiority, provided the British fleet before Brest has been eluded and left astern." "Our minister of the marine is charged to make such arrangements as shall ensure Admiral Gantheaume being acquainted with your motions."

By the second projet, every thing, on his junc-

tion with the Ferrol squadron, was to be left to Villeneuve's own discretion and zeal: "In short," says the Emperor, "so many things have occurred since your departure for Martinique; that the knowledge of the force gone in pursuit of you, the strength of the Ferrol squadron, and of that which blockades it, together with the situation of your fleet, are the elements which must guide your ulterior destination." P. 250. "Our principal purpose is to obtain, for a few days, the superiority before Boulogne: masters of the Straits (of Dover) for four days, one hundred and fifty thousand men, embarked in two thousand vessels, would complete the expedition. Immediately after your appearance at Ferrol, you will have the choice of four plans: first, to join the Rochefort squadron and Brest fleet, which will give you sixty sail of the line: the second will be to leave the Rochefort squadron, which takes up as many English ships to guard it, and to lose no time in joining Gantheaume at Brest: the third will be to form your junction with the Ferrol squadron, to go to the north of Ireland, join the Texel fleet of seven sail of the line, and then come to Boulogne:" the fourth, we give in the original:—

"Le quartrieme parti, parait devoir etre celui de diriger sur le cap Lezard, et a trente lieus au large de profiter du vent de ouest, pour longer le côte de L'Angletérre, éviter le rencontre de L'Escadre qui bloque Brest, et arriver quatre ou cinq jours avant elle, devant Boulogne," &c. &c.

Here we may observe that thirty leagues from

the Lizard, running up Channel, would, in the first instance, have run his fleet into the very centre of ours off Brest, or what is worse on the rocks of Ushant. We will not, however, dispute with such high authority. The Emperor says, "If you should decide upon going round Ireland, keep out of sight of land, and the enemy will think you have returned up the Mediterranean, and we shall not fail to spread such reports by every means!" Our government, we believe, was sufficiently aware of the credit due to a French or a Brussels gazette.

In the event of the abortion of all these great projects Villeneuve was directed to proceed to Cadiz, to favour the return of the Carthagena squadron to that port, then to *occupy* the Straits of Gibraltar, to *ravage the bay and supply himself with provisions there;* i. e. we conclude, in the town!

Had his Imperial Majesty commanded his admiral, on his way up Channel, to anchor at Spithead, for the same purpose, we might have supposed he really meant it, and should have made some allowance for his ignorance "of localities;" but that a soldier, of such talent, who must have known what it cost France and Spain, in 1782, for daring to approach within gun-shot of that celebrated fortress, either by land or sea, should command his fleet to *victual* there and ravage the bay, makes us doubt whether we can have given the proper translation; the words are, "Que vous ravagiez la rade de Gibraltar, et que vous vous approvisionez la de Vivres." P. 252.

The second Rochefort squadron, of four sail of the line, under the command of Rear-admiral Magon, sailed from Isle D'Aix, on the 1st of May, to join Villeneuve. Nelson received the news of Villeneuve's departure, while lying in Agincourt sound; he still continued to think that Egypt was his destination; he therefore guarded the broadest and most obvious channel up the Mediterranean, placing himself between Sardinia and the coast of Africa. It was not till the 10th of April, that the Leviathan informed him that the French fleet had been seen off Cape de Gatte, and it was soon after ascertained that they had passed the Straits, and gone to the westward. Here, while it was evident that his enemy had gained on him a very great distance, contrary winds seemed to forbid a pursuit. He did not reach Gibraltar, till the 30th, which Villeneuve had passed three weeks before; and Nelson learnt with grief and anxiety all that had happened at Cadiz, the departure of Sir John Orde, and the escape of Gravina. The wind being strong from the westward, he took advantage of it to complete his water in Mazari-bay, on the coast of Barbary, sending the Superb to Tetuan, to procure refreshments for his fleet. On the 5th of May, an easterly wind revived his sinking spirits, and gave him hopes of getting to sea. The Superb was recalled, the cattle and the vegetables left on the beach, and the fleet weighed and stood to the westward; but the wind again heading him from that quarter, he put into La-

gos-bay, where he very fortunately found some transports, laden with provisions, which had been sent out to Sir John Orde. Having taken advantage of this seasonable supply, he was ready to sail, but could make no progress before the 12th, on which day, when off Cape St. Vincent, he fell in with the expedition under Sir James Craig, escorted by two ships of the line; this force, having been refused admittance into the Tagus, had borne away for Gibraltar. Nelson added the Royal Sovereign for their protection, and parted company with them: the Queen and Dragon, being much worn out, were ordered to England: after which, when no stranger being in sight to report his motions, he bore away for Porto Sancto, with ten sail of the line,* made the Desertas on the 15th, but without stopping at Madeira, pushed on for Barbadoes, and on the 4th of June anchored with his fleet in Carlisle-bay: here he found Rear-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, in the Northumberland, and Captain Sir F. Laforey, in the Spartiate. After remaining a few hours, in the course of which he contrived to embark Lieutenant-general Sir William Myers, with two thousand troops, for the protection of Tobago and Trinidad, he weighed, on the morning of the 5th, and steered for the last-named island. On the 8th, he anchored in the gulf of Paria, but saw no enemy. On the 9th, at daylight, he weighed,

* Victory, Canopus, Spencer, Donegal, Belleisle, Tigre, Leviathan, Swiftsure, Superb, and Excellent.

again and steered for Grenada. He communicated with Dominica on the 10th, and on the 12th with Montserrat. On the same evening he anchored at St. John's, Antigua: his mind was now relieved from all anxiety respecting the safety of the Windward Islands.

All that Villeneuve had been able to achieve was the recapture of the Diamond Rock, and the capture or destruction of part of a convoy from Antigua; after which, proceeding agreeably to his orders towards Cape Finisterre, he met with Sir Robert Calder, to dispute his passage into Ferrol.

The particulars of the capture of the Diamond Rock, taken from the Martinique Gazette, of the 14th of June, 1805, are here inserted, being descriptive of the rock, and the dangers which the assailants had to encounter: the surrender was owing to want of ammunition and provisions; otherwise the force and courage of Monsieur Boyer and his companions would have been unavailing. Captain Morris descended from his fort, but not without honour, and was subsequently intrusted with the command of another island, which he defended with equal courage and greater success.

The report is official, and is as follows:—

"Captain Boyer embarked, on the 9th Prairial, two hundred troops, and was convoyed by two seventy-fours, a frigate, and a brig. On the 11th he divided them in two divisions; between nine and ten o'clock he effected a landing, much sooner than he expected, under a most heavy fire from the English, from the

heights of the rock, the lower part having been abandoned. "The scaling of the rock seemed perfectly easy, and I made my dispositions accordingly; but the moment we had landed, this illusion ceased. I saw nothing but immense precipices, perpendicular rocks, a threatening enemy, whom it was impossible to reach, and insurmountable difficulties on all sides. Our troops suffered severely from a galling volley of musketry, large fragments of the rock, cannon-ball, and casks filled with stones, which they poured upon us. They were intrenched in a number of cavities, which nature had formed at different heights, which it was impossible to reach but by ladders forty feet high. The tremendous fire of the enemy had obliged the boats to retreat, and the ships had drifted into the offing, and we remained without support or provisions; we had no resource but to retreat into two cavities in the rock, between which the English succeeded in cutting off all communication. At night the enemy did not at all relax in their defence. I endeavoured to reconnoitre the rock on all sides; towards midnight a boat approached, and landed sixty grenadiers, with provisions, on the 12th; in the evening I determined to summon the garrison to surrender the following morning. In the course of the night we received more provisions, &c. &c. and the rest of the grenadiers of the 32d. On examining the rock, immediately over our cavern, it occurred to me that it could be scaled. I sent accordingly for scaling-ladders, and desired a captain and lieutenant, and sixty grenadiers, to prepare for the attempt in the morning. My intention to summon the garrison was of course relinquished, and my plan being formed, I ordered all my men to search every where for an outlet. About nine in the morning, a number of them returned to inform me, that they had succeeded in climbing up different parts of the rock. About an hour after, Captain Cortes informed me, some of his men had gained a height, which commanded the entrance of the great house, and had fastened to the rocks some ropes which they found; but as the rock was forty feet high, they did not descend within reach. Part of the staircase of the great house was then brought away, which enabled them to reach the ropes. But none seemed inclined to ascend, until Lieutenant Giraudon climbed up the summit of the height with the rapidity of an arrow, and was followed by a number of grenadiers, marines, and soldiers. To assist this attack, I caused a number of men to conceal themselves in the rocks and buildings facing the Little Savannah, in order to pre-

vent their supporting their right flank, which our troops had attacked. In the mean time, Captain Brunet had climbed up, at the head of the grenadiers, and Captain Cortes overcame every thing he found in his way. It was now all over with the Diamond, and we should have had possession of it in a few hours, when Lafine arrived with a flag of truce, the garrison having thrown out a signal for capitulation, which our situation prevented us from seeing. The firing immediately ceased, articles of capitulation were agreed upon, and at sunrise, on the 14th, Captain Morris descended with his garrison, agreeable to the articles, filed off in front of our troops, and laid down their arms and colours. The number of effective men amounted to one hundred and seven. We had fifty killed and wounded."

Nelson learnt, on the 8th of June, that Villeneuve had been seen with his fleet at Martinique on the 4th, that he had threatened an attack on Grenada; this, however, could only have been a feint to induce him to work back with his fleet to that island, which would have occupied much time. The Admiral obtained information on which he could more confidently rely, and which proved correct, that the French fleet had quitted the West Indies, and returned to Europe. Landing Sir William Myers and his troops at Antigua, and sending home the Curieux brig with despatches, Nelson continued his pursuit of the fugitive French Admiral, taking with him the Spartiate, and leaving Sir Alexander Cochrane in the Northumberland, with the command in the Leeward Islands. With eleven sail of the line he steered for St. Michael's, which he made on the 9th of July, and on the 17th he made Cape St. Vincent, while Villeneuve on the 22d was off Ferrol; so that if Nelson had steered for Cape Finisterre, it is probable that he would have

reached it before his enemy; this however he could not know. His chase was unequalled, both for its length and the judgment by which it was guided; he had run six thousand six hundred and eighty-six miles, and his name alone had been sufficient to drive an enemy of nearly double his numerical force before him. All things considered, it was very fortunate that Lord Nelson, with such disparity of force, did not fall in with Villeneuve.

As the British fleet required every thing that a dock-yard could afford, the Admiral bore away on the 17th of July for Gibraltar; ascertaining no doubt in his way, that the combined fleet was not in Cadiz. He anchored in Gibraltar-bay on the 19th, and went on shore, for the first time, since the 16th of June, 1803; and two years, except ten days, had elapsed since he had had his foot out of the Victory. From this place he addressed the following letters to his friend Collingwood:—

Victory, July 18, 1805.

MY DEAR COLLINGWOOD,

I am, as you may suppose, miserable at not having fallen in with the enemy's fleet, and I am almost increased in sorrow at not finding them. But for ———'s false information the battle would have been fought where Rodney fought his, on June the 6th. I must now only hope that the enemy have but touched here, and gone to Jamaica, but if the account, of which I send you a copy, is correct, it is more than probable they are either gone to the northward, or, if bound to the Mediterranean, not yet arrived. The Spaniards, or the greatest part of them, I take for granted, are gone to the Havannah, and I suppose have taken fourteen sail of Antigua sugar-loaded ships with them. The moment the fleet is watered and got some refreshment, of which we are in great want, I shall come out and make you a visit, not,

my dear friend, to take your command from you (for I may probably add mine to your's), but to consult how we can best save our country by detaching a part of this large force. God bless you, my dear friend, and believe me ever most affectionately your

NELSON and BRONTE.

Admiral Murray desires to be kindly remembered.

Victory, July 20, 1805.

MY DEAR COLLINGWOOD,

The Martin sloop arrived this morning, and as Captain Savage says, that the Pickle schooner left the fleet before him for Gibraltar, I fear some accident has happened to her. I shall be in Tetuan on the 22d, and twenty-four hours will complete us for our East India voyage,* and I shall see you as soon as possible. I have sent for Sir Richard Bickerton, as I am in total ignorance of the intentions of the admiralty; and I find that the frigates are ordered from aloft to join you, and at a moment when I have fancied that at least double the number are wanted; but the orders of the admiralty must be obeyed. God bless you, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours most truly

NELSON and BRONTE.

On the 25th, while passing him with a fair wind, he wrote to him again. To those unacquainted with the nature of the winds in that part of the world, it is right to remark, that a levanter, or easterly wind, often blows out of the Straits of Gibraltar, while more to the northward the wind is westerly.

Victory, July 25, 1805.

MY DEAR COLLINGWOOD,

We are in a fresh levanter, you have a westerly wind, therefore I must forego the pleasure of taking you by the hand until October next, when, if I am well enough, I will (if the admiralty please) resume the command. I am very far from well, but I

* Such would have been his voyage had he heard of the enemy going there.

"am anxious that not a moment of the services of the fleet should be lost. Amazon is the only frigate I take with me, and she has not joined from Gibraltar. I send her orders. I feel disappointed, my dear friend, at not seeing you, so does Admiral Murray, and many I am sure in the fleet. May God bless you, and send you alongside the Santissima Trinidad, and let me see you in perfect health. And ever believe me,

My dear Collingwood,
Your most faithful and affectionate friend,
NELSON and BRONTE.

Four days sufficed for the anxious and zealous Admiral to complete his repairs and his stores, taking in his water at Tetuan. He sailed once more on the 24th, in search of his enemy, reaching Cape St. Vincent on the 3d of August. He hauled away to the northward, and on the 15th joined Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, from whom he must have learnt the defeat of Villeneuve by Sir Robert Calder. Admiral Cornwallis seeing how much the health of his friend had suffered by labour and anxiety, hurried him away to Spithead in the Victory, and directing the Superb to attend him, both ships arrived on the 18th, and Lord Nelson immediately set off for London.

CHAP. XIV.

Nelson reappointed to command the Mediterranean fleet, sails in the Victory—Writes to Collingwood—Arrives off Cape St. Mary's — Arrangements — Departure of Rear-admiral Louis and five sail of the line for Gibraltar—Junction of five others from England—Sir Robert Calder parts company for England—The combined fleets in Cadiz appear to be coming out—Preparations to receive them—The British fleet steers for the Straits of Gibraltar—Last interview between Nelson and Collingwood—The 21st of October—Forces of the contending fleets—Error which induced Villeneuve to sail—Nelson's order of attack—His appearance on deck, dress, and decorations—Prayer—Preparatory arrangements—The immortal signal, "England expects," &c.—The combined fleet veer at a quarter before eight o'clock—The action begins by the Royal Sovereign—Slaughter on board the leading ships Victory and Temeraire—on board of Redoutable and Fougeux—Advantage of small arms in tops rejected by Nelson—He falls wounded—His orders—Last moments and death—His character—Anecdotes—Redoutable is taken—View of the conduct of Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign—Destructive fire on the Santa Anna—She surrenders—The battle ends with a great victory—Nineteen sail of the line taken—Dumanoir escapes with four sail of the line—Gravina runs with the remainder of the fleet into Cadiz—Villeneuve made prisoner—Reflections on his conduct by French writers—Observations on his death made by Bonaparte — Gross falsehoods and publications in French journals—Official and correct statements by Admiral Collingwood—His public letters—List of killed and wounded—Names of flag-officers of the enemy — Anecdotes relative to the action and its succeeding events—Sequel to the battle of Trafalgar—Distinguished conduct of Captain Malcolm of the Donegal—Capture of El Rayo—Situation of Admiral Collingwood—Extract from Gibraltar Chronicle—Sinking of the Santissima Trinidad—Junction of Admiral Louis's squadron—Loss of the

Donegal's officers and men in the Rayo—Conduct of Admiral Alava—Collingwood's Letter to him—Letter of Captain Hallowell to Captain Infernet—The Victory joins the fleet and proceeds to Spithead—Funeral of Nelson—Honours and rewards to Collingwood and his officers—Grant of money in compensation for prizes—Patriotic fund—Capture of Dumanoir and his squadron by Sir Richard Strachan—Particulars—Public letters, and official returns.

SCARCELY had Nelson paid his respects to his sovereign and the admiralty, and had the satisfaction of hearing a general and unanimous approval of his conduct in pursuing his enemy to the West Indies, when he was roused from his retirement at Merton, to take the command of the fleet. Early in September, Captain Blackwood, on his way from Portsmouth to London, called and informed him that Villeneuve having refitted his fleet at Vigo and Ferrol, had arrived safe at Cadiz. No time was lost, and no entreaties were required to induce the hero to accept of the important command. The Victory was again prepared for him, and he departed for Portsmouth. The coffin, which had been given to him by Captain Hallowell, was sent down and put on board with the rest of his luggage; from which it has been inferred he had a presentiment that his great career was drawing to its termination, and resolved that the last act of his life should be worthy of his former deeds, and carry the fame of his country to the highest pinnacle of naval glory.

He reached Portsmouth early in the morning of the 14th of September, and according to Mr

Southey, crowds of people pressed round the hero to take a farewell look, shedding tears at his departure, as if conscious that he was never to return.

Previously to leaving London, he addressed the following letter to Admiral Collingwood:—

Admiralty, Sept. 7, 1805.

MY DEAR COLL,

I shall be with you in a very few days, and I hope you will remain second in command. You will change the Dreadnought for Royal Sovereign, which I hope you will like.

Ever, my dear Collingwood,
Most faithfully yours,
NELSON and BRONTE.

Vice-admiral Collingwood.

In this part of our history we are indebted to the valuable narrative of Dr. Beatty for much important information. Lord Nelson sailed from St. Helen's on the 15th of September. On the 18th, he appeared off Plymouth, whence, being joined by the Ajax and Thunderer, he proceeded on his voyage. On the 27th, he made Cape St. Vincent, and sent Blackwood ahead in the Euryalus, who had accompanied him from Portsmouth, with another letter to Admiral Collingwood.

Victory, Sept. 25, 1805.

MY DEAR COLL,

I sent your letters, which I knew Lord Barham intended to have sent you, by a cutter from Plymouth, as he desired me. I sat down at the admiralty and wrote you a line, which Captain Lechmere has returned to me, and I send it with the others from the Thunderer by Euryalus; also I send forward to announce my approach, and I request that if you are in sight of Cadiz, that not only no salute may take place, but also that no colours

may be hoisted; for it is as well not to proclaim to the enemy every ship which may join the fleet. I fell in with Decade on the 20th, twenty-seven leagues S. W. from Scilly, it blew then very strong at S. W. I saw Captain Stewart for a moment; Sir Richard Bickerton was far from well; I shall of course send to Gibraltar as soon as possible after my joining. If Euryalus joins before I am in sight, I wish you would make something look out for us towards Cape St. Vincent, which I shall endeavour to make if the wind is to the northward of west. I would not have any salute, even if out of sight of land.

I am ever, my dear Coll,
Your faithful friend,
NELSON and BRONTE.

His fleet, including the three ships which he had brought with him, amounted to twenty-seven sail of the line; he joined on the 29th, off Cape St. Mary's. The blockade of Cadiz, which had been begun by Sir John Jervis in 1797, had no intermission from that time till the peace of Amiens, and on the renewal of the war it was recommenced with all its former rigour. The fleet was distant from the town about fifteen miles; the combined fleets within its capacious harbour, and the British in-shore squadron, under the command of Rear-admiral Louis, closely watching their movements, and reporting every indication of their disposition to come to sea. The Euryalus and Hydra were at the mouth of the harbour, for the purpose of intercepting any supply of provisions for the enemy. Nelson said he knew no more certain means of bringing them out than starvation.

Having completed these arrangements, the Admiral retired with the body of the fleet to the

neighbourhood of Cape St. Mary's, between fifty and sixty miles west of Cadiz, establishing a line of communication between himself and his advanced squadron, by means of three or four intermediate ships.

By keeping at this distance from Cadiz, Nelson prevented the enemy from acquiring any accurate knowledge of his force, and ensured good sea-room in the event of a strong westerly gale. He then addressed the following letters to Admiral Collingwood:—

Victory, Oct. 9, 1805.

MY DEAR COLL,

I send you Captain Blackwood's letter, and as I hope Weazle has joined, he will have five frigates and a brig; they surely cannot escape us. I wish we could get a fine day, and clear our transports at least of the bread, and by that time water will come. Niger is with the transports. Sovereign's cables can go into the Malabar. I shall be glad to see you mounted in her. I send you my plan of attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in. But, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll, have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view, that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you: and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend,

NELSON and BRONTE.

P. S. Keep Blackwood's letter; the schooner goes off Cadiz from you, and if you have not disposed of the papers of the 23d, send them to Blackwood.

Victory, Oct. 10, 1805.

MY DEAR COLL,

The enemy's fleet are all but out of the harbour; perhaps this night with the northerly wind they may come forth, and with

the westerly sea-breeze to-morrow go into the Mediterranean. I hope we shall have got as much out of the transports to-day as we want; not that I am in any hurry to send them away; they must take their chance when we pursue. If the weather is fine, and we have plenty of drift, I shall lay to all night. I believe I mentioned before, when any of the transports are done emptying they should hoist their ensigns at the mast head, that the ships may send empty wine-pipes, hoops, staves, and condemned provisions.

Your's ever,
NELSON and BRONTE.

Victory, Oct. 10, 1805.

MY DEAR COLL,

You will receive the commission and order as you desired. I think we are near enough for the weather if it is fine. If we are in sight they never will move, and should it turn bad we may be forced into the Mediterranean, and thus leave them at liberty to go to the westward, although at present I am sure Mediterranean is their destination. I shall make the signal at half past four or five, for boats to repair on board, and make sail under topsails, and perhaps foresails, supposing the wind to remain; stand into the latitude of Cadiz, and then wear to the southward for the night. Should the enemy move, I have directed the vessels coming with the information, to fire a gun every three minutes, and burn a rocket from the mast-head every half hour. It is then probable that I shall make the signal to bear up and steer for the entrance of the Straits. I am not a little troubled about * * *. Durham has refused voluntarily to go home.

Ever yours, faithfully,
NELSON and BRONTE.

Rear-admiral Louis, in the Canopus, with the Spencer and Tigrè under his orders, had long watched the enemy inshore; from this arduous duty he was compelled to withdraw in consequence of wanting provisions and water. On the 2d of October, he was ordered to Gibraltar, and parted company, taking with him, besides the

three ships above named, the Queen and Zealous. Hearing on his way into port that the enemy was embarking troops, the Rear-admiral, in the Canopus, with the Spencer, returned to the fleet, but on the 4th, Lord Nelson, supposing he could spare them better than at any other time, dismissed Rear-admiral Louis, who, with these five ships, was not in the action. It is singular they were replaced between the 7th and the 13th, by the Royal Sovereign, Belleisle, Defiance, Agamemnon, and Africa, from England, and the Leviathan from Gibraltar. On the 13th, in the evening, Sir Robert Calder parted company in the Prince of Wales, of ninety-eight guns, and proceeded to England to take his trial. On the 18th, Nelson issued his memorable general order, of which the following is an exact copy :—

Victory, off Cadiz, October 18, 1805.

(General Orders.)

Thinking it almost impossible to bring a fleet of forty sail of the line into a battle, in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would probably be lost of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive, I have, therefore, made up my mind to keep the fleet in that position of sailing, with the exception of the first and second in command, that the order of sailing is to be the order of battle, placing the fleet in two lines, sixteen ships each, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two-decked ships, which will always make, if wanted, a line of twenty-four sail on whichever line the Commander-in-chief may direct; the second in command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his line to make the attack upon the enemy, and to follow up the blow until they are captured or destroyed. If the enemy's fleet are seen to windward, in line of

battle, and that the two lines and advanced squadron could fetch them, they will probably be so extended that their van could not succour their rear; I should therefore probably make the second in command a signal to lead through, about the twelfth ship from their rear (or wherever he could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced). My line would lead through about their centre, and the advanced squadron two, three, or four ships a-head of their centre, so as to ensure getting at their Commander-in-chief, whom every effort must be made to capture.

The whole impression of the British fleet must be to over-power two or three ships ahead of their Commander-in-chief (supposed to be in the centre). To the rear of their fleet I will suppose twenty sail of their line to remain untouched, it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British fleet, or succour their own ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged. The enemy's fleet is supposed to consist of forty-six sail of the line—British forty—if either is less, only a proportion of the enemy to be cut off. British to be one-fourth superior to the enemy cut off; something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a sea-fight beyond all others. Shots will carry away masts and yards of friends as well as foes; but I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour their rear, and then that the British fleet would be ready to receive the twenty sail of the line, or pursue them, should they endeavour to make off. If the van of the enemy tacks, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet If the enemy wear, the British fleet must place themselves between the enemy and the captured and disabled British ships; and should the enemy close I have no fear as to the result. The second in command will, in all possible things, direct the movement of his line by keeping them as compact as the nature of the circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular line as a rallying point, but in case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, *no captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy.* If the enemy's fleet are discovered in line of battle to leeward, the divisions of the British fleet will be brought nearly within gun-shot of the enemy's centre; the signal will most probably be then made for the lee line to bear up together; to set all their sails, even their steering sails, in order to get as quickly as pos-

sible to the enemy's line, and to cut through, beginning at the twelfth ship from the rear. Some ships may not get through their expected place, but they will always be at hand to assist their friends: if any are thrown in the rear of the enemy they will complete the business of twelve sail of the enemy: should the enemy wear together or bear up and sail large, still the twelve ships composing in the first position of the enemy's rear, are to be the object of attack of the lee line, unless otherwise directed by the Commander-in-chief, which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire direction of the lee line (after the intentions of the Commander-in-chief are signified) is intended to be left to the admiral commanding that line.

The remainder of the enemy's fleet (thirty-four sail of the line), are to be left to the management of the Commander-in-chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the second in command are as little interrupted as possible.

NELSON and BRONTE.

The attention of this great master in the art of war was observable in the most minute particular. It is often difficult in the smoke of battle to distinguish a friend from an enemy. The British fleet has generally three different-coloured ensigns, according to the flag-officers of the red, white, or blue divisions present. Nelson, whose flag was white at the fore, ordered all his ships to fight under a St. George's ensign, and to hoist union jacks at their fore-topmast and top-gallant-stays. The iron hoops on the masts of the French and Spaniards were painted black. Nelson commanded that all his ships should paint theirs yellow. The Belleisle painted hers in the night previous to the action.

On the 18th, the Donegal, Captain P. Malcolm, was obliged to return to Gibraltar to refit. The

ship, having been two years constantly at sea, was worn out by the severity of the service. This deprived Nelson of a favourite ship, on which, in action, he would have placed much reliance.

The convoy collected about this time at Gibraltar, bound to Malta and the higher parts of the Mediterranean, requiring a strong escort to protect them from a Spanish squadron of five sail of the line, at Carthagena, Rear-admiral Louis, with the same number of ships, was ordered to proceed with them; of which Villeneuve was accurately informed, but he knew not that, while these ships were detached to the eastward, they were replaced by a like number from the west; he therefore supposed Nelson to have no more than twenty-one or twenty-two sail of the line, and under this error he sailed from Cadiz, beginning to move on the 19th of October. At half-past nine, in the morning of that day, the Mars, Defiance, Colossus, and Agamemnon, being the repeating ships between the frigates and the Admiral, made the signal that the enemy was coming out of port. The wind was light from S. by W. and the breezes partial. All sail was immediately made to the eastward, and at two o'clock, the Mars and Colossus repeated the signal that the enemy was at sea. Both the rival admirals appear to have laboured under misapprehensions, which mutually produced the events of the subsequent days. Villeneuve, calculating on the supposed weakness of Nelson's fleet, hurried out to meet him before he should be strengthened

by reinforcements; and Nelson, supposing as Villeneuve sailed with a S. W. wind, that he was bound to Toulon, made all sail for the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, off which he found himself on the morning of the 20th, the enemy not in sight. The British fleet then wore, and stood to the N. W. and at seven in the morning, the Phœbe made the signal for the enemy bearing north, that is, close in with Cadiz. At eight o'clock, the Victory hove to, when Collingwood went on board, and saw his illustrious friend for the last time. The wind, during the afternoon, increased from the S. W., and excited apprehensions that the enemy would return into Cadiz. Never was attention more rivetted than that of the British officers on the motions of the combined fleet. A little before sunset, Blackwood made the signal that the enemy appeared determined to go to the westward:—"And that they shall not do, if in the power of Nelson and Bronté to prevent them,"* said Nelson in his diary. The signal was then made to the Euryalus, that the Admiral depended on Captain Blackwood's keeping sight of the enemy during the night. It was the Admiral's command that the frigates having sight of the enemy should fire a gun every three minutes, and discharge a rocket from the mast-head every half hour. So well were these orders obeyed, that darkness scarcely interrupted the communication. The combined fleet, being clear from the land, wore twice in the night.

* Clerk and M'Arthur.

The British fleet stood to the southward till two in the morning, and then wore and stood to the N. W., under their topsails and foresails, and anxiously awaited the dawn of day. "When that period arrived," says Dr. Beatty, "the combined fleets were distinctly seen from the deck of the Victory, formed in close line of battle ahead on the starboard tack, standing to the southward; the wind was at W. N. W. the enemy twelve miles distant to leeward. They had thirty-three sail of the line, of which three were three-deckers, and one a sixty-four. They had also four frigates and two brigs. Our fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, of which seven were three-deckers, and three were sixty-fours, with four frigates."

The combined fleets had been ordered to sail on the 13th of September, but were prevented by some little insubordination among the officers, who refused to go to sea, and (it is said) signified their determination in a council of war. When the news of this event reached Paris, Admiral Rossily was ordered to Cadiz, to take the command. Villeneuve hearing of this, contrived to get his fleet out, though with a S. W. wind; and probably the departure of the six sail of the line, with the convoy, may have contributed to the sudden change of sentiment among the officers.

The British hero came on deck soon after daylight, on the morning of the 21st: his anxious mind had probably allowed little repose to a frame that

required it so much; yet it was not for himself but his country that he watched and prayed. He was dressed in his usual frock coat, commonly called in the navy the undress; on his left breast were four stars, the honourable gifts of his own and the other sovereigns of Europe. These he always wore with his common apparel, and as the ship approached the enemy, the distinguishing marks on his person excited the most serious apprehensions among his officers and friends about him; but no one dared hint to him, that by wearing them in action he exposed himself unnecessarily to the enemy's marksmen. Dr. Beatty would have done it, when he presented his daily report of the Victory's sick, but was ordered suddenly off the deck, when the enemy began to fire.

Nelson, in the early part of the day, was in high spirits, and expressed great pleasure at the prospect of giving a fatal blow to the naval power of France and Spain. Confident of victory, he declared he would not be satisfied with capturing less than twenty sail of the line. It is singular, that he had often predicted the 21st of October would be the day; "It was," he said, "the happiest day in the year among his family."

Before the action began, he retired to his cabin, and composed that remarkable prayer, which having been granted in its fullest extent, has so much endeared his memory to the British nation.

"May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in

general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after the victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet. For myself, individually, I commit my life to Him that made me; and may his blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully; to Him I resign myself and the just cause which is intrusted to me to defend. Amen, amen, amen."

The British fleet, when the enemy was seen, at daylight, on the morning of the 21st, was a good deal scattered; the Colossus and Africa were looking out in the S. W. but joined in time. At fifteen minutes past six, the Admiral made the signal to form the order of *sailing* in two columns; at thirty minutes past, to bear up in succession. The Victory, steering for the enemy's van, made the signal to the Royal Sovereign, that he meant to get between them and Cadiz. At twenty-five minutes past seven, the Admiral made the signal to the Britannia, Prince, and Dreadnought to take station as most convenient. These ships being heavy sailers were kept to windward of the fleet, and consequently, from light airs and their distance from the enemy, much retarded in getting into the action. At thirty minutes past eight, the signal was made for the captains of the Euryalus, Naiad, Phœbe, and Sirius, who remained on board the Victory, till a few minutes before the action; at the same time to the Royal Sovereign, to form the lee line, and make more sail. Forty minutes past nine,

to the Leviathan to take her station astern of the Temeraire; this she was not able to do, though every exertion was made by her captain to effect it. At fifty minutes past nine, the Victory hailed the Neptune, and desired her to keep more open order. The Temeraire endeavouring to get ahead of the Victory, could not pass her, and was desired by signal to keep astern of her. At fifty-five minutes past nine, the Royal Sovereign made the signal to the Achille to alter her course to starboard. Fifty-five minutes past ten, Victory to Africa, to make all possible sail. At forty minutes past eleven, the Victory made the telegraphic signal, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY." At forty-three past eleven, the Royal Sovereign made the signal to the lee-division to make more sail. At forty-six past eleven, the Victory made the general signal to anchor as most convenient after the action at night.

Through the intercession of Captain (now the Honourable Sir Henry) Blackwood, the Admiral had given his consent that the Temeraire should lead the weather-line, followed by the Leviathan, but neither of these ships could pass the Victory, unless Nelson would shorten sail; this no one dared to suggest to him; and although he had himself verbally commanded Captain Hervey to go ahead, he found fault with his own officers on the forecastle for not having the Victory's lower studding-sail set in time. After the *immortal signal*—"England expects every man will do his duty"—every

ship crowded her utmost sail, and the spirit of Nelson pervaded the whole British fleet. The Royal Sovereign, just before the action began, made the signal that the enemy's Commander-in chief was in a frigate; this proved to be an error, but it was certainly true that the situation of the enemy's admirals was a matter of conjecture, as they never displayed their flags till the action was nearly over. The combined fleets extended in an irregular curve line from north to south; the French and Spaniards indifferently mixed: the French had eighteen, the Spaniards fifteen sail of the line. At a quarter past eight, the combined fleet had wore, and come upon the larboard tack, with their heads to the northward; this Nelson was sorry to see, as it was evidently done with a view of getting into Cadiz in the event of a defeat; had they continued on the other tack, they must have drifted through the Straits of Gibraltar. The enemy was now upon a wind on the larboard tack, Cape Trafalgar bore E. S. E., distant seven leagues, Cadiz N. E., distant five leagues. The British fleet in two lines, with the wind on the larboard quarter, studding-sails and royals set, approached the enemy. Nelson suspecting their van inclined to run for Cadiz, hauled his line two points more to the northward, to cut them off. This prolonged the chase in his division so much, as to afford the Royal Sovereign, with the lee line, an opportunity of being the first to engage. When the enemy began to fire on her,—"See," said Nelson, "how that

noble fellow, Collingwood, takes his ship into action;" and, said Collingwood, almost at the same moment, "What would Nelson give to be here!"

At thirty minutes past eleven, the enemy began to open their fire on the Royal Sovereign, and at forty minutes past, that ship returned the fire of the Santa Anna. At present we must quit her to attend to the Victory, who, owing to the lightness of the wind and the heavy swell, slowly led her line towards the enemy. Eight or nine of their centre ships tried the range with single guns, but when a shot passed through the maintop-gallant-sail of the Victory, they all opened their broad-sides upon her, and the slaughter became dreadful on the poop and quarter-deck. Mr. Scott, the public secretary, was killed by a gunshot as he stood in conversation with Captain Hardy: a double-headed shot cut down eight marines on the poop, and Nelson ordered Captain Adair, who commanded the party, to disperse his men round the ship. Another shot soon after passed between the Admiral and Captain, when Nelson observed with a smile, "This is too warm work, Hardy, to last long;" and declared, at the same time, that in all the battles he had ever been in, he had never witnessed more cool courage than was displayed by the crew of the Victory on this occasion. Thus the position chosen by the Commander-in-chief and his second, had exposed them to the fire of more than half the enemy's line for many minutes,

before they returned a shot. The Victory had twenty men killed and thirty wounded, her mizen-topmast and her studding-sail-booms shot away, before she opened her fire; but at four minutes past twelve, she began on both sides, and tremendous was the execution.

Nelson broke through the enemy's line about the tenth ship from their van; Collingwood about the twelfth from their rear, leaving eleven of their intermediate ships unoccupied. As they approached very near the Bucentaure, the French Admiral's ship, the Redoutable, commanded by Captain Lucas, gallantly resolved to interpose between his own Admiral and the Victory, and ran upon the weather quarter of the French flag ship, where he remained in the most determined and honourable manner, and fell a sacrifice in the performance of his duty.

Captain Hardy observed to the Admiral, that it appeared impossible to pass through the enemy's line without going on board of one of their ships; "I cannot help it," said the hero, "it does not signify which you run on board of; take your choice, go on board of which you please." The Redoutable had, therefore, the distinguished honour of stopping the Victory, which was laid on board of her on the larboard side; the French ship firing her broadside at the same time, let fall her lower-deck ports, and fired no more from that deck during the remainder of the action: their ports (it afterward appeared) were let down to prevent

being boarded through them by the crew of the Victory, who kept up such a continued discharge into her unfortunate opponent with her starboard guns, that her decks were soon swept of her crew, except the few men who plied the musketry from her tops, with which they poured down an incessant fire on the decks of the Victory. While these two ships lay as it were lashed alongside of each other, the Temeraire had in like manner ran foul of the Fougeux, and fell on board of the Redoutable on the starboard side. Thus four ships lay in a tier, and it must be admitted, that whether accident or design had brought them together, the positions were far more favourable, in the general result of the day, to the enemy than to England, since two of our most powerful ships were occupied and withheld from exertion by two of the enemy of very inferior force; that these were very soon subdued is certain, but they were bought at a price infinitely above their value. Never since the naval empire was contended for by us, had a battle been fought with such determined courage—such undaunted contempt of death as on this occasion appeared on both sides. Scarcely a person on the poop, quarter-deck, and forecastle of the Victory, but was either killed or wounded. The Victory for a time had ceased firing her great guns into the Redoutable, under an impression that that ship had surrendered; but the small-arm men from the tops still keeping up their fire, the great guns of the Victory began again, and were discharged into the sides of

the Redoutable, with a diminished quantity of powder and three round shot; the officers on the middle and lower-decks taking every precaution, by the depression of their guns, to avoid injuring the Temeraire, as she lay on the opposite side of the enemy. While the Victory was thus occupied with the Redoutable on her starboard side, she engaged for a considerable time the Santissima Trinidad and the Bucentaure, who were to windward of her on the larboard side.

The firemen of the Victory stood ready with their buckets, and at every discharge of a gun dashed a quantity of water into the holes which the shot had made in the side of the Redoutable. This ship was crushed under the weight of her opponents, her artillery silenced, her gallant Captain lay mortally wounded on her deck, with between three and four hundred of her crew; still a few men in her tops were doing, at every moment, the most fatal execution with their small arms. It was unfortunately a fixed opinion with the hero of the Nile, that small arms aloft were worse than useless, that there was danger of setting fire to the sails, and perhaps he thought, that the duties aloft of trimming the sails were unattended to, while the enemy offered a mark for musketry. Certain it is, that the Victory had no small-arm men in her tops, nor do there appear to have been any in those of the Temeraire; so that as long as the masts of the Redoutable stood, the upper decks of the British ships were

exposed to a cool and well-directed fire, which continued for one hour and a half, and presented the singular spectacle of a French seventy-four gun ship engaging a British first and second rate with small arms only. About half past one, the Admiral was standing on the middle of the quarter-deck, and had just turned to walk aft, when a musket-ball, from the mizen-top of the French ship, struck him on the left shoulder, passed through the strap of the epaulette, and grazing the collar-bone, entered his chest, and lodged in one of the dorsal vertebræ. The lamented chief fell with his face upon the deck. Serjeant-major Secker, of the Royal Marines, and two seamen, flew to his assistance, and were raising him up when Captain Hardy, who was on the larboard side, turned round and saw that the Admiral was wounded. In answer to the anxious inquiries of the Captain, the gallant chief replied, "They have done for me at last, Hardy." "I hope not," said Hardy. "Yes," answered the dying hero, "my back bone is shot through." From the situation whence the shot was fired, Dr. Beatty calculates the distance to have been about fifteen yards; the mizen-top of the Redoutable being just abaft, and below the Victory's mainyard. The spot where he fell is now marked with a dark piece of wood, about an inch square, inlaid in the deck.

While the attendants conveyed the wounded Admiral to the cockpit, the hero was still mindful of the great duty he had to perform, and not

regardless of minor cares, even in the agonies of death. As he passed the gun-room he saw that the tiller ropes, which had been shot away early in the action, were not replaced, and commanded that it should be instantly done; and having delivered this order, he covered his face with his pocket handkerchief, that he might not be noticed by his crew. The cockpit was fast filling with the dead and the dying. Lieutenant Ram and Mr. Whipple, the captain's clerk, had just expired, when the surgeon, turning from them, was called to the Admiral. Mr. Burke and Dr. Beatty received the feeble fainting frame of their beloved chief from the arms of those who had conveyed him to the cockpit, and placed him in one of the midshipmen's births. The Admiral observed to the Doctor, "You can do nothing for me; I have but a short time to live, my back-bone is shot through." The surgeon soon discovered that the hero was indeed mortally wounded, but except from the Captain and one or two surrounding friends, cautiously concealed the mournful secret until the day was decided. Nelson, now in the agonies of death, constantly and impatiently called for Hardy; but it was long before the Captain could quit the deck, the duty of the Commander-in-chief, during the action, having devolved upon him by the rules of the service. At length Hardy came, and Nelson inquired, "How the day went?" "Very well, my Lord," replied the Captain, "we have got twelve or fourteen of the enemy's ships

in our possession; but their van has tacked and shews an intention of bearing down on the Victory; I have therefore called two or three of our best ships about us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing." The symptoms of approaching dissolution crept on with resistless power, as the hero lay surrounded by many brave officers and men, similarly situated. The surgeon could do no more, and quitted him to afford his professional aid to less desperate cases. In fifty minutes after his first visit to the cockpit, Hardy returned, and congratulated the Admiral on the capture of fourteen or fifteen sail of the line. "That is well," said Nelson, "but I bargained for twenty;" and then he earnestly exclaimed, "Anchor, Hardy, anchor." To this Hardy replied, "I suppose my Lord, Admiral Collingwood will now take upon himself the direction of affairs." "Not while I live, I hope," said Nelson, as he ineffectually endeavoured to raise himself from his bed: "No, Hardy, do you anchor." "Shall I make the signal, Sir?" said Hardy, "Yes," answered Nelson, "for if I live, I will anchor." Shortly after this interesting dialogue, the Captain returned to the quarter-deck, and Nelson, with his last breath, thanked God he had done his duty, and expired in the cockpit of the Victory, at thirty-five minutes past four o'clock, in the afternoon; at the very moment the British and combined fleets were in the position described in the plate.

The sad tidings of his being wounded and without the hope of recovery, had been conveyed to Admiral Collingwood, by Lieutenant Hills of the

Key to the annexed Plate.

		Names of Ships.	Guns.			Names of Ships.	Guns.
S	1	Neptuno	94	E	18	Minotaur	74
S	2	St. Augustin	74	E	19	Royal Sovereign	100
F	3	Formidable*	80	E	20	Euryalus	36
E	4	Leviathan	74	S	21	Santa Anna	112
F	5	Montblanc*	74	F	22	Le Neptune	74
F	6	Scipion*	74	S	23	St. Ildefenso	74
F	7	Du Guay Trouin*	74	F	24	Fougeux	74
E	8	Neptune	98	E	25	Temeraire	98
S	9	Santissima Trinidad	140	F	26	Redoutable	80
F	10	Intrepide	74	E	27	Dreadnought	98
E	11	Orion (Africa, 64, near her, but not visible)	74	E	28	Sirius	36
				S	29	Prince of Asturias	100
				F	30	Achille	74
E	12	Conqueror	74	S	31	San Juan	74
E	13	Colossus	74	E	32	Belleisle	74
F	14	Bucentaure	80	E	33	Naiad	36
E	15	Britannia	100	E	34	Prince	98
E	16	Victory	100	E	35	Polyphemus	64
E	17	Spartiate	74				

Note of the Draftsman.—"This is a rough sketch of the action, taken after the firing had ceased in the rear, and the enemy's van had wore to recover the prizes, but were so warmly received, that they were obliged to stand on, and with difficulty got away, leaving the Spanish Neptuno to her fate; she struck to the Spartiate and Minotaur. The St. Augustin, one that belonged to the van, bore up and was taken by the Leviathan to leeward.

"The ships not numbered are those whose names I could not find out."

N.B.—The author is indebted to an officer of the Neptune for this sketch; it was done by a young gentleman, a midshipman, on board of her, of the name of Herbert, and whom the author thanks for this invaluable memorandum of that battle.

* The ships of Dumanoir's squadron.

Victory. This officer was sent by Captain Hardy, soon after Nelson was wounded; and before the action was quite concluded, the Captain himself went on board the Royal Sovereign, with the afflicting confirmation of the death of the Hero of the Nile. Dr. Beatty informs us, that Lord Nelson lived about two hours and fifty-five minutes after he received his wound.

Thus fell the greatest sea officer, of this or any other nation, recorded in history; his talents, his courage, his fidelity, his zeal, his love for his king and country, were exceeded by none. Never had any man the happy intuitive faculty, of seizing the moment of propitious fortune, equal to Nelson. His whole career, from his earliest entrance into the service, offers to the youth of the British Navy, the most illustrious examples of every manly virtue; whether we view him as a midshipman, a lieutenant, as the captain of a frigate, or as a commander-in-chief. In 1785, Nelson found, in time of profound peace, some object connected with his country's good, on which to employ his time and his professional knowledge. That he was the object of persecution among the West India planters, was the fault of the government; Nelson did his duty, to the best of his judgment, as an honest man. In his justification, he addressed the following letter to his friend Collingwood, on the subject of seizing the American traders, under the Navigation Laws. See vol. i. p. 312.

J. Walker sculp.

A View of the British and Combined Fleets at the conclusion of the Battle of Trafalgar

ENGRAVED FOR BRENTON'S NAVAL HISTORY.

English Harbour, Sept. 28, 1785.

MY DEAR COLL,

Although I am really half dead, yet I will not suffer Latona to sail without answering my good friend's letter, were it only to shew that whatever civil prosecutions may be carried on against officers in the execution of their duty, ministers will afford the protection they stand in need of. It is a great consolation to officers who mean to serve their country faithfully.

I have a letter from Mr. Suckling who belongs to the custom-house, he is a person who has been in that office since he was a boy, and is consulted in all doubtful cases relative to that board. His letter is as follows:

"I am sorry the conduct of some people, where you are stationed, should compel you to exercise that authority, which the legislative power has so wisely reposed with the navy, for the protection of navigation. I have spoke to our solicitor in regard to your proceedings, he is clearly of opinion that you are warranted in your seizure of the ships; and, he says, you need not apprehend, but that you will be effectually supported, and the business taken up very seriously, as soon as the Irish matters are settled."

HORATIO NELSON.

We have seen him, as captain of the Agamemnon, in Larma-bay, writing his despatches while his ship lay aground in an enemy's port; we have seen him, as captain of a seventy-four gun ship, on the 14th of February, lay a Spanish first-rate, and an eighty-four gun ship on board, and with his little band of heroes rush from ship to ship, and take them both. Equally great in the hour of defeat as of victory, see him at Teneriffe with his shattered arm going to the rescue of his companions and saving their lives, while every moment of delay increased the peril of his own by hemorrhage and exhaustion: see him walk up the ship's

side—hear him command the surgeon to proceed to amputation; and see the fortitude with which he bore the agonizing pain. Follow him to the Nile, and contemplate the destruction of the fleet of France, and the consequent loss of her vast army led by Bonaparte.

How great was his professional knowledge and decision at Copenhagen, when, despising death, he refused to obey the signal of recall; because he knew that by such obedience his country would have been disgraced, the great object of the expedition frustrated, and Britain, overpowered by the increased energy of the northern confederacy, might have sunk under the multiplied force of her enemies. See him on the same occasion sit down in the midst of carnage, and address a letter to the Crown Prince of Denmark, which, while it gave a victory to his country, added to her glory by stopping the useless effusion of human blood. We have seen him the patient, watchful, and anxious guardian of our honour, in the Mediterranean, where, for two years, he sought an opportunity to engage an enemy of superior force. Three times we have seen him pursue the foes of his country to Egypt, and once to the West Indies. And these great steps he took entirely on his own responsibility, disregarding any personal consideration, any calculation of force, or any allurement of gain. Coming at last to the termination of his glorious career, the end of his life was worthy of all his

other deeds; the battle of Trafalgar will stand, without the aid of sculpture or painting, the greatest memorial of British naval valour ever exhibited; no pen can do it justice, no description can convey an adequate idea of the glories of that day; and the event, which deprived us of our favourite chief, consummated his earthly fame, and rendered his name for ever dear to his country. Had not his transcendent virtues been shaded by a fault, we might have been accused of flattery. No human being was ever perfect, and however we may regret the blemish in the affair of Caraciolli, we must ever acknowledge, that the character of Nelson, as a public servant, is not exceeded in the history of the world.

The conversation related by Clerk and M'Arthur, which took place between Lord Nelson and the Honourable Captain (now Rear-admiral Sir Henry) Blackwood, is deeply interesting; and much as we have trespassed on that highly valued work, we cannot forbear transcribing the following passage.

"I was walking with him on the poop, says Captain Blackwood, when he said, 'I'll now amuse the fleet with a signal,' and asked me if I did not think there was still one wanting. These words were scarcely uttered, when his last well-known signal was made, 'England expects every man will do his duty.' The shout with which it was received throughout the fleet was truly sublime. 'Now,' said Lord Nelson, 'I can do no more; we must trust to the great Disposer of all

events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty.'

"When Captain Blackwood was ordered, about half-past eleven, to go on board of his own ship, Nelson said to him, 'God bless you, Blackwood; I shall never speak to you again.'"

Nelson's decision of character has been displayed in a thousand instances; the following one may be relied on as authentic, the officer to whom the advice was given being still alive.

When the Neapolitans were at war with the Algerines, in 1799, a young commander, in a sloop of war, was ordered with a convoy of Neapolitan vessels to Cagliari, where they were to load with corn, and return to the ports of Italy. The Captain of the sloop, feeling the heavy responsibility of his trust, and knowing the extreme caution of our government towards the states of Barbary, asked Lord Nelson what he should do in the event of the Algerines attacking his convoy, "Let them *sink you*," said the hero, "but do not let them touch the hair of the head of one of your convoy;—ALWAYS FIGHT AND YOU ARE SURE TO BE RIGHT."

A letter, which he addressed to the late Sir Evan Nepean, previous to his departure for Copenhagen, shews his character in a new, and if possible, a more brilliant light; we give it in a fac simile of his own hand on the opposite page.

The Redoutable was not taken till a quarter of an hour after the Admiral was wounded. Captain

Yarmouth March 7 1801

My Dear Sir

Wenbridge Yrs will have the goodness to give or send me a Sett of Charts of the Baltic. I only now long to be gone. time is precious and every hour makes more resis-tance. Strike quick and home, and may be soon return Victorious is the fervent Wish and shall be the hearty exertion of Your faithful & obeyed Nelson & Bronte

to Evan Nepean Esqr.

Adair, about eighteen seamen and marines, were killed, and Lieutenant (now Captain) G. M. Bligh, Mr. Palmer, midshipman, and about twenty seamen and marines, were wounded. The French ship, after having been twice on fire, had thrown some hand grenades on board the Victory, which had set fire to some ropes and canvas on the booms, but it was soon extinguished. The man who from the mizen-top had shot Lord Nelson, was himself killed by musketry from the Victory. Two men were all that remained in that part of the ship when Nelson received his wound; one of them was shot by a person from the poop of the Victory, while endeavouring to make his escape down the rigging; the other met the same fate from the hand of Mr. Pollard, a midshipman, and fell dead on the poop of the Redoutable.

We must now return to the Royal Sovereign, in which the brave Collingwood, leading the lee line, and larboard division of the fleet, had begun the action. In running down to engage, she had the van and rear of the combined fleet abaft her beam, before she was in action with the centre; a proof that their line was a curve, but so formed from the effect of accident, caused by the veering of the fleet together in the morning, when from the line ahead on the starboard tack it came to a very confused order of sailing or battle on the larboard tack.

As the Royal Sovereign approached, she found nearly the same obstruction in passing through the

enemy's line, as had been experienced by the Victory; their ships were so close as to offer no apparent opening. When this was pointed out to Collingwood, he replied, "Steer for the bowsprit of the Santa Anna." At this moment, a Spaniard astern of that ship, shivered his main-topsail, and made a gap in the line, through which the Royal Sovereign passed, under the stern of the Santa Anna, giving her nearly a broadside and a half in that position; then hauling on a wind under her lee, on the larboard tack, the yards of the two ships touched, as they engaged with the greatest fury and resolution: while this was going on with the guns below, the seamen on deck were employed taking in their studding-sails, and trimming the sails. The situation of the Royal Sovereign was now what might be called a very warm one, with the Santa Anna on her larboard side, a Spanish two-decker on her starboard bow, and another across her stern; she continued in this position forty minutes, until Captain Tyler of the Tonnant came to her assistance, and took off the attention of another ship ranging up to assist the Santa Anna, who now, completely subdued by the Royal Sovereign, surrendered, having lost five hundred and forty men, killed and wounded, and Don Ignacio Maria Alava, the Vice-admiral, supposed to be mortally wounded. The flag of Gravina was in the Prince of Asturias; he was farther to leeward, and not so much engaged. The battle had, about three o'clock, assumed an appearance

decidedly in our favour, when Gravina, seeing many ships dismasted, many surrendered, and some in our possession, collected all that could obey his signals, and with the frigates bore away for Cadiz, as had been foreseen from the beginning of the day.

The five headmost ships of the enemy's van were not able to avail themselves of this opportunity, their retreat being cut off by the interposition of our ships; they therefore made sail on the larboard tack, until they could weather our van, when they wore, and passed to windward, keeping up a heavy fire into every ship within their reach. This was the squadron of Rear-admiral Dumanoir, of which we are to speak hereafter. The only one of them whose flight was arrested, was the San Augustine, a Spanish seventy-four, which, after a little firing, struck to the Spartiate and Minotaur; and the battle ended with the capture of nineteen sail of the line, of which nine were French, and ten were Spanish; of the latter, two were first-rates, the Santissima Trinidad, and the Santa Anna. The Bucentaure of eighty guns, bearing the flag of Villeneuve, the Commander-in-chief, was taken possession of by the Conqueror: but the boat, which took out the French Admiral, unable to regain her own ship, was picked up by the Mars, where Villeneuve remained till the 24th, when he was removed to the Neptune, and received by Captain Freemantle with every mark of respect and attention.

The Neptune, commanded by Captain Freemantle, had engaged the Santissima Trinidad, and entirely dismasted her; she was soon after taken possession of by the Prince, the Neptune being forced to prepare for the reception of the French van, which having wore, engaged her for nearly an hour, when one of them ran to leeward and was taken. The other four, which passed to windward, we have already noticed.

In attempting to account for this signal defeat of their fleets, foreign writers adopt every mode of reasoning but the right one; it is vain to attribute the loss of the day to tactics, when tactics seem to have been disregarded; the order of battle, at the beginning of the action, was more favourable to the enemy than to the English. The Count de Dumas says, the French Admiral neglected to give to the officers, under his orders, particular instructions, relative to the various positions in which the combined fleet might find itself, in the two cases of attack or defence. This is little more than unsupported assertion, and an unjust reflection on the memory of a brave but unfortunate officer; his orders were concise, his determination fixed, he did his duty both by precept and example. "Celui qui ne serait pas dans le feu ne serait pas a son poste," was almost equivalent to "England expects every man will do his duty;" and nearly a literal translation of the words of Nelson, "No captain can do wrong who lays his ship alongside of an enemy." Villeneuve

evidently laboured under the displeasure of his master, for many months previous to the affair of which we have been speaking; he was ordered to be superseded the moment he should appear before Brest, and Rossily had been sent to Cadiz to take the command of the combined fleet, when it put to sea with so much precipitation. On the return of this unhappy man to France, soon after the battle, he was found dead in his apartment, in the town of Rennes, on his way to the capital, and his death was imputed to the orders of Napoleon. Whether it was so, or that the stabs were inflicted by his own hand, we have no means of judging, nor do we wish to cast a reflection on the overloaded memory of Bonaparte; but that personage is made to say, that "Villeneuve studied anatomy on purpose to destroy himself;" as if a French admiral knew not where his heart lay, without the assistance of anatomical plates to ascertain its situation. This lame apology, and the order which Napoleon acknowledges he sent to him not to come to Paris, induces us to suspect rather than acquit the ungrateful emperor. See *O'Meara, Napoleon in Exile.* Vol. i. p. 56.

What could the gallant and unfortunate chief have had to fear from a court-martial, unless it were such a one as tried the Duke D'Enghien? Villeneuve's conduct in this action at least has been acknowledged by *all* present to have been that of a distinguished sea-officer; and the state of the Bucentaure shews, that he had no consideration

for his own person. He would indeed have shifted his flag to another ship, and renewed the action, but he had not a boat that would swim; and when deserted by Gravina and Dumanoir, who took away with them fourteen sail of the line, what more remained for Villeneuve but to submit to his destiny?

The voyage of Villeneuve to the West Indies had answered no reasonable purpose; he had done nothing, and the year had been suffered to glide away in idle dreams of great conquests, naval battles, and successful invasions; when the end of October, and the beginning of November, saw Bonaparte without a Channel or a Mediterranean fleet, and the flotilla in Boulogne rotting on the mud. How much he felt for the loss of his fleet may be easily conceived; but no one could suppose it possible that an emperor would dare to insult a nation with a false account of the action, pretended to have been taken from Admiral Collingwood's official letter, and circulated and believed throughout the greater part of the continent. The following however is a faithful extract from the Journal de Paris, 16 Frimaire, An XIV. 7th Dec. 1805.

London, Nov. 26, 1805.

In the fashionable circles at the theatres, or at balls, the ladies in full dress wear a crown of cypress, in memory of Lord Nelson.

The death of Lord Nelson is not the only loss which we have to deplore in the terrible battle which our fleet sustained, on the 21st of October, before Cadiz, against the combined fleet; we

may judge of them by reading the following extract of a report sent by Vice-admiral Collingwood to the admiralty.

State of the British squadron after the battle of the 19th and 21st of October.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Remarks.*
Victory	100	entirely dismasted in cutting the line; Admiral Nelson wounded, died seven hours after.
Prince of Wales	98	sunk. (This ship was not in the action.)
Britannia	100	dismasted and sunk.
Neptune	98	sunk. The masts of the first, and the tiller of the second, found on the coast of Conil.
Prince	98	
Dreagnante (Dreadnought)	98	dismasted and sunk.
Temeraire	98	boarded by the French ship L'Aigle, who killed many of her men.
Queen	98	lost her topmasts, her hull in a very bad state, at Gibraltar. (Not in the action.)
Canopus	80	dismasted, and placed alongside the Pontons at Gibraltar. (Not in the action.)
Spencer	74	sunk. (Not in the action.)
Spartiate	74	towed in by a frigate, and making signals for assistance.
Defence	74	burnt by the squadron in the N. W. (Qy. What squadron?)
Swiftsure	74	at Gibraltar, lost her mizen-mast.
Reine (Qu. Queen? see above.)	98	dismasted on the coast of Africa. (We had no such ship.)
Zelé	74	much injured, her hull at Gibraltar.
Conqueror	74	under sail.
Revenge	74	at Gibraltar, the latter without a top-sail yard.
Achille	74	
Colossus	74	on shore on the coasts of Conil and San Lucar
Minotaur	74	
Mars	74	under sail, the last without her mizen-mast.
Bellerophon	74	
Polyphemus	64	

Ships.	Guns.	Remarks.
Le Carné Le Hardis, or Affronté	— — —	under sail. (We had no such ships.)

Ships which joined the fleet at five o'clock in the morning of the 21st of October.

Duke of York	90	under sail. (We had no such ship.)
Royal Sovereign	110	sunk, with 400,000*l.* on board for Malta. (Commanded by the author) in 1815.)
Le Leger	80	towed by a frigate. (No such ship.)
Relampago	74	(no such ship.)
Achille	74	à la voile. (Named above as being at Gibraltar without a topsail yard.)

"This report," says the editor, "is a brilliant homage paid to French valour." It would be insulting to the understanding of the English nation, to attempt a refutation of it, farther than by pointing out the ships which were not in the action, or which did not exist at the time; we give it as a specimen of the Imperial Gazettes of France, and leave the reader to compare it with the real facts as detailed in the admirable letters of Vice-admiral Collingwood. By these he will learn that no British ship was lost; he will see, to the immortal honour of his country, that the prayer of Nelson was heard; that humanity after the victory was the predominant feeling in the British fleet; and he will see how gloriously and effectually the officers and men exerted themselves to save their subdued enemy from the destructive elements, against which these people knew not how to contend.

LONDON GAZETTE. EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 6, 1805.

Despatches, of which the following are copies, were received at the admiralty this day, at one o'clock, A. M. from Vice-admiral Collingwood, Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels off Cadiz.

Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, October 22, 1805.

SIR,

The ever-to-be-lamented death of Vice-admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves me the duty of informing my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 19th instant, it was communicated to the Commander-in-chief, from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz, that the combined fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his Lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Straits' entrance, with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his Lordship was informed, by Captain Blackwood (whose vigilance in watching and giving notice of the enemy's movements has been highly meritorious), that they had not yet passed the Straits.

On Monday, the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west, and very light: the Commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his Lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line consisted of thirty-three ships (of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish, commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve, the Spaniards under the direction of Gravina), wore with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness. But as the mode of attack was un-

usual, so the structure of their line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward; so that in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam before the fire opened; every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear, but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The Commander-in-chief, in the Victory, led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee. The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; the Commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van; the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. The conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events, to grant his Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three, P. M. many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with ten ships joining their frigates, to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his Majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line (of which two are first-rates, the Santissima Trinidad, and the Santa Anna), with three flag officers, viz. Admiral Villeneuve, the Commander-in-chief; Don Ignacio Maria D'Alava, Vice-admiral; and the Spanish Rear-admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have

language to express; the spirit which animated all was the same; when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous, than in the battle I have described.

The Achille, a French seventy-four, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire and blew up; two hundred of her men were saved by the tenders. A circumstance occurred during the action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen, when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their lordships: the Temeraire was boarded, by accident or design, by a French* ship on one side, and a Spaniard on the other; the contest was vigorous; but in the end, the combined ensigns were torn from the poops, and the British hoisted in their places.

Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament in common with the British navy and the British nation, in the fall of the Commander-in-chief, the loss of a hero, whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years of intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought. His Lordship received a musket ball in his left breast, about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me immediately, with his last farewell, and soon after expired. I have also to lament the loss of those excellent officers, Captain Duff of the Mars, and Cooke of the Bellerophon; I have yet heard of none others.

I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great when the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships. The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me, while the action continued, which ship, lying

* Subsequent information has proved this statement wanted confirmation.

within hail, made my signals, a service Captain Blackwood performed with very great attention. After the action I shifted my flag to her, that I might the more easily communicate my orders to, and collect the ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted; all shattered; in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence which aided us through such a day preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until those gales are over.

Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their Lordships on a victory, which I hope, will add a ray to the glory of his Majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD

William Marsden, Esq.

GENERAL ORDER.

Euryalus, Oct. 22, 1805.

The ever-to-be-lamented death of Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte, the Commander-in-chief, who fell in the action of the 21st, in the arms of Victory, covered with glory, whose memory will be ever dear to the British navy and the British nation, whose zeal for the honour of his King, and for the interest of his country, will be ever held up as a shining example for a British seaman, leave to me a duty to return my thanks to the Right Honourable Rear-admiral, the captains, officers, seamen, and detachments of Royal Marines, serving on board his Majesty's squadron, now under my command, for their conduct on that day. But where can I find language to express my sentiments of the valour and skill which were displayed by the officers, the seamen, and marines, in the battle with the enemy, where every individual appeared a hero, on whom the glory of his country depended? The attack was irresistible, and the issue of it adds to the page of naval annals a brilliant instance of what Britons can do, when their King and their country need their service.

To the Right Honourable Rear-admiral the Earl of Northesk, to the captains, officers, and seamen, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the Royal Marines, I beg to give my sincere and hearty thanks, for their highly meritorious conduct, both in the action, and in their zeal and activity in bringing the captured ships out from the perilous situation in which they were, after their surrender, among the shoals of Trafalgar, in boisterous weather. And I desire that the respective captains will be pleased to communicate to the officers, seamen, and Royal Marines, this public testimony of my high approbation of their conduct, and my thanks for it.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

To the Right Hon. Rear-admiral the Earl of Northesk, and the respective Captains and Commanders.

GENERAL ORDER.

The Almighty God, whose arm is strength, having of his great mercy been pleased to crown the exertions of his Majesty's fleet with success, in giving them a complete victory over their enemies, on the 21st of this month; and that all praise and thanksgiving may be offered up to the throne of grace, for the great benefit to our country and to mankind, I have thought proper that a day should be appointed of general humiliation before God, and thanksgiving for his merciful goodness, imploring forgiveness of sins, a continuation of his divine mercy, and his constant aid to us, in defence of our country's liberties and laws, and without which the utmost efforts of man are nought; and direct therefore that be appointed for this holy purpose.

Given on board the Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, October 22, 1805.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

To the respective Captains and Commanders.

N. B.—The fleet having been dispersed by a gale of wind, no day has yet been able to be appointed for the above purpose.

Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 24, 1805.

SIR,

In my letter of the 22d, I detailed to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, the proceedings

of his Majesty's squadron, on the day of the action, and that preceding it, since which I have had a continued series of misfortunes, but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or my skill prevent.

On the 22d, in the morning, a strong southerly wind blew, with squally weather, which however did not prevent the activity of the officers and seamen, of such ships as were manageable, from getting hold of many of the prizes (thirteen or fourteen) and towing them off to the westward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune; but on the 23d the gale increased, and the sea ran so high, that many of them broke the tow-rope, and drifted far to leeward before they were got hold of again; and some of them, taking advantage in the dark and boisterous night, got before the wind, and have perhaps drifted upon the shore and sunk. On the afternoon of that day, the remnant of the combined fleet, ten sail of ships, who had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my shattered and straggled charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward for their defence: all this retarded the progress of the hulks, and the bad weather continuing, determined me to destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence, compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the enemy; but even this was an arduous task in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent; I intrusted it to skilful officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The Captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinidad, and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the fleet this morning from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying four others. The Redoutable sunk astern of the Swiftsure, while in tow. The Santa Anna I have no doubt is sunk, as her side is almost entirely beat in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that, unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port. I hope their lordships will approve of what I (having only in consideration the destruction of the enemy's fleet) have thought a measure of absolute necessity.

I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this ship. Vice-admiral

Don Alava is dead.* Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a frigate (for there were only four in the action with the fleet, Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, and Naiad; the Melpomene joined the 22d, and the Eurydice and Scout the 23d), I shall collect the other flag officers, and send them to England with their flags (if they do not go to the bottom), to be laid at his Majesty's feet.

There were four thousand troops embarked, under the command of General Contamin, who was taken with Admiral Villeneuve in the Bucentaure.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 27, 1805.

Copy of a letter received last night by the Hon. Captain Blackwood, from Vice-admiral Lord Collingwood, Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to William Marsden, Esq.

Queen, off Cape Trafalgar, Nov. 4, 1805.

SIR,

On the 28th ult. I informed you of the proceedings of the squadron to that time, the weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from the S. W. the squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured ships off the land, and great risk of some of them getting into port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying them, and to get the squadron out of the deep bay.

The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel, however, saved the French Swiftsure; and his ship the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, Captain Malcolm, afterward brought out the Bahama. Indeed, nothing can exceed the perseverance of all the

* This was an erroneous report brought to the Admiral. The author dined on board the Santa Anna, in Cadiz, with Don Alava, in August, 1809.

officers employed in the service. Captain Hope rigged and succeeded in bringing out the Ildefonso, all of which will, I hope, have arrived safe at Gibraltar. For the rest, Sir, I enclose you a list of all the enemy's fleet which were in action, and how they are disposed of, which I believe is perfectly correct.

I informed you, in my letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the enemy's fleet came out a second time, to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the hulks, when the Rayo was dismasted, and fell into our hands; she afterward parted her cable, went on shore, and was wrecked. The Indomptable, one of the same squadron, was also driven on shore, wrecked, and her crew perished.*

The Santa Anna and Algeziras being driven near the shore, off Cadiz, got such assistance as has enabled them to get in; but the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected, under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore; had the battle been in the ocean, still fewer would have escaped. Twenty† sail of the line are taken or destroyed, and of those which got in, not more than three are in a repairable state for a length of time.

Rear-admiral Louis, in the Canopus, who had been detached with the Queen, Spencer, and Tigre, to complete the water, &c. of these ships, and to see the convoy in safety a certain distance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th.

In clearing the captured ships of prisoners, I found so many wounded men, that, to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the Marquis de Solana, Governor-general of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their country, on receipts being given; a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness; not only by the Governor, but by the whole country, which resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts; bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of the ships, and an offer from the Marquis de Solana of the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended.

I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released;

* Fifteen hundred in number, her own and Bucentaure's.

† By a subsequent account it appears, that the number of ships of the line taken and destroyed was nineteen.

the officers on parole, the men for receipts given, and a condition that they do not serve in war, by sea or land, until exchanged.

By my correspondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice-admiral D'Alava was not dead, but dangerously wounded; and I wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a prisoner of war, a copy of which I enclose, together with a state of the flag officers of the combined fleet.

I am, &c. &c.
C. COLLINGWOOD.

A list of the combined fleet of France and Spain, in the action of the 21st of October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, shewing how they were disposed of.

1. Spanish ship, San Ildefonso, of seventy-four guns, Brigadier Don Joseph de Varga, sent to Gibraltar.
2. Spanish ship, San Juan Nepomuceno, of seventy-four guns, Brigadier Don Cosme Cherruca, sent to Gibraltar.
3. Spanish ship, Bahama, of seventy-four guns, Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano, sent to Gibraltar.
4. French ship, Swiftsure, of seventy-four guns, Monsieur Villemadrin, sent to Gibraltar.
5. Spanish ship, Monarca, of seventy-four guns, Don Teodoro Argumosa, wrecked off San Lucar.
6. French ship, Fougeux, of seventy-four guns, Monsieur Beaudouin, wrecked off Trafalgar, all perished, and thirty of the Temeraire's men.
7. French ship, Indomptable, of eighty-four guns, Monsieur Hubart, wrecked off Rota, all perished, said to have had fifteen hundred men on board.
8. French ship, Bucentaure, of eighty guns, Admiral Villeneuve, Commander-in-chief, Captains Prigny and Magendie, wrecked on the Porques, some of the crew saved.
9. Spanish ship, San Francisco de Asis, of seventy-four guns, Don Luis de Flores, wrecked near Rota.
10. Spanish ship, El Rayo, of one hundred guns, Brigadier Don Henrique Macdonel, taken by Donegal, and wrecked near San Lucar.
11. Spanish ship, Neptuno, of eighty-four guns, Brigadier Don Cayetano Valdes, wrecked between Rota and Catalina.

12. French ship, Argonaute, of seventy-four guns, Monsieur Epron, on shore in the port of Cadiz. (By subsequent account not lost.)
13. French ship, Berwick, of seventy-four guns, Monsieur Camas, wrecked to the northward of San Lucar.
14. French ship, Aigle, of seventy-four guns, Monsieur Courage, wrecked near Rota.
15. French ship, Achille, of seventy-four guns, Monsieur de Nieuport, burnt during the action.
16. French ship, Intrépide, of seventy-four guns, Monsieur Infernet, burnt by the Britannia.
17. Spanish ship, San Augustin, of seventy-four guns, Brigadier Don Felipe X. Cagigal, burnt by the Leviathan.
18. Spanish ship, Santissima Trinidad, of one hundred and forty guns, Rear-admiral Don Baltazar H. Cisneros, Brigadier Don F. Uriarte, sunk by the Prince and Neptune.
19. French ship, Redoutable, of seventy-four guns, Monsieur Lucas, sunk astern of the Swiftsure; Temeraire lost thirteen, and Swiftsure five men, in her.
20. Spanish ship, Argonauta, of eighty guns, Don Antonio Parejo, sunk by the Ajax.
21. Spanish ship, Santa Anna, of one hundred and twelve guns, Vice-admiral Don Ignacio D'Alava, Captain Don Joseph de Gardoqui, taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.
22. French ship, Algeziras, of seventy-four guns, Rear-admiral Magon (killed), Captain Monsieur Bruaro, taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.
23. French ship, Pluton, of seventy-four guns, Monsieur Cosmao, returned to Cadiz in a sinking state.
24. Spanish ship, San Juste, of seventy-four guns, Don Miguel Caston, returned to Cadiz, has a foremast only.
25. Spanish ship, San Leandro, of sixty-four guns, Don Joseph de Quevedo, returned to Cadiz, dismasted.
26. French ship, Le Neptune, of eighty-four guns, Monsieur Maistral, returned to Cadiz, perfect.
27. French ship, Le Heros, seventy-four guns, Monsieur Poulain, returned to Cadiz, lower masts standing, hoisted Admiral Rossily's flag.
28. Spanish ship, Principe de Asturias, one hundred and twelve guns, Admiral Gravina, Captain Don Antonio Escano, returned to Cadiz, dismasted.

29. Spanish ship, Montanez, Don Francisco Alcedo, returned to Cadiz.
30. French ship, Formidable, eighty guns, Rear-admiral Dumanoir, escaped to the southward, with the three following:
31. French ship, Montblanc, seventy-four guns, Monsieur Villegries.
32. French ship, Scipion, seventy-four guns, Monsieur Berouger.
33. French ship, Du Guay Trouin, seventy-four guns, Monsieur Toufflet.

Abstract.

At Gibraltar	4
Destroyed	15
In Cadiz	10
Escaped	4
	33

The order in which the ships of the British squadron attacked the combined fleet, on the 21st of October, 1805, with the names of the flag officers and captains:

Van, or Weather Column.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Victory	100	Vice-ad. Visc. Nelson Capt. T. M. Hardy	51	75
Temeraire	98	Eliab Harvey	47	76
Neptune	98	T. F. Freemantle	10	34
Conqueror	74	Israel Pellew	3	9
Leviathan	74	H. W. Bayntun	4	22
Ajax	74	Lieut. J. Pilfold*	-	9
Orion	74	Edward Codrington	1	23
Agamemnon	64	Sir Edward Berry	2	7
Minotaur	74	C. J. M. Mansfield	3	22
Spartiate	74	Sir F. Laforey, Bart.	3	20
Britannia	100	Rear-ad. Earl Northesk Capt. Charles Bullen	10	42
Africa	64	Henry Digby.	18	44
			154	383

Frigates.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Euryalus	36	Hon. H. Blackwood
Sirius	36	William Prowse
Phœbe	36	Hon. T. B. Capel
Naiad	38	T. Dundas
Pickle	12	Lieut. J. R. Lapenotiere
Intreprenante cutter	12	Lieut. R. B. Young

Rear, or Lee Column.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.	Killed.	Wounded.
Royal Sovereign	100	Vice-ad. Collingwood Capt. E. Rotherham	47	94
Mars	74	George Duff	29	69
Belleisle	74	William Hargood	33	93
Tonnant	80	Charles Tyler	26	50
Bellerophon	74	John Cooke	27	133
Colossus	74	J. N. Morris	40	160
Achille	74	Richard King	13	59
Polyphemus	64	Robert Redmill	2	4
Revenge	74	R. Moorsom	28	51
Swiftsure	74	W. G. Rutherford	9	7
Defence	74	George Hope	7	29
Thunderer	74	Lieut. J. Stockham*	4	16
Defiance	74	P. C. Durham	17	53
Prince	98	Richard Grindall	—	—
Dreadnought	98	John Conn.	7	26
			263	794

List of the Names and rank of the Flag Officers of the combined fleets of France and Spain, in the action of the 21st of October, 1805.

Admiral Villeneuve, Commander-in-chief, Bucentaure, taken.

* Lieutenants Pilfold and Stockham were acting for Captains W. Brown and W. Lechmere, absent on Sir R. Calder's trial; the Lieutenants W. P. Camby, of the Bellerophon, and W. Hannah, of the Mars, having their Captains killed: the whole of these officers, with Lieutenant Quillam, first of the Victory, were made Post immediately.

Admiral Don Frederico Gravina, in the Principe de Asturias, escaped into Cadiz, wounded in the arm.

Vice-admiral Don Ignacio Maria Alava, Santa Anna, taken, wounded severely, but escaped into Cadiz.

Rear-admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros, in the Santissima Trinidad, taken.

Rear-admiral Magon, Algeziras, killed.

Rear-admiral Dumanoir, in the Formidable, escaped.

The heavy gales of wind, blowing from the S.W. which immediately succeeded the action, rendered the service, after the 21st of October, more laborious and dangerous, and more fatal in its consequences, than the battle itself. The nature of this danger is ably and fully explained in Admiral Collingwood's letter of the 24th of October, but there are many particulars, which could not be detailed in the confined limits of a public letter, but which are nevertheless highly deserving of our notice, and worthy of imitation.

The following private letter, from Admiral Collingwood to his father-in-law, gives a supplementary account of the action, and shews his amiable domestic habits, so ornamental to the character of a true born Englishman:—

Queen, Nov. 2, 1805.

MY DEAR SIR,

I wrote to my dear Sarah a few lines when I sent my first despatches to the admiralty, which account I hope will satisfy the

good people of England, for there never was, since England had a fleet, such a combat. In three hours the combined fleet were annihilated, upon their own shores, at the entrance of their port, amongst their own rocks. It has been a very difficult thing to collect an account of our success, but by the best I have, twenty-three sail of the line surrendered to us, out of which, three, in the furious gale we had afterward, being driven to the entrance of the harbour of Cadiz, received assistance and got in; these were the Santa Anna, the Algeziras, and Neptune (the last since sunk and lost); the Santa Anna's side was battered in. The three we have sent to Gibraltar, are the San Ildefonso, San Juan Nepomuceno, and Swiftsure; seventeen others we have burnt, sunk, and run on shore, but the Bahama I have yet hope of saving; she is gone to Gibraltar. Those ships which effected their escape into Cadiz, are quite wrecks; some have lost their masts since they got in, and they have not a spar or a store to refit them. We took four admirals,—Villeneuve, the Commander-in-chief, Vice-admiral D'Alava, Rear-admiral Cisneros, Spanish, and Magon, the French admiral, who was killed,—besides a great number of brigadiers (commanders). D'Alava, wounded, was driven into Cadiz in the Santa Anna; Gravina, who was not taken, has lost his arm (amputated I have heard, but not from him); of men, their loss is many thousands, for I reckon, in the captured ships, we took twenty thousand prisoners (including the troops). This was a victory to be proud of; but in the loss of my excellent friend, Lord Nelson, and a number of brave men, we paid dear for it; when my dear friend received his wound, he immediately sent an officer to me to tell me of it, and give his love to me. Though the officer was directed to say, the wound was not dangerous, I read in his countenance what I had to fear; and before the action was over, Captain Hardy came to inform me of his death. I cannot tell you how deeply I was affected, my friendship for him was unlike any thing that I have left in the Navy, a brotherhood of more than thirty years: in this affair he did nothing without my counsel, we made our line of battle together, and concerted the mode of attack, which was put in execution in the most admirable style. I shall grow very tired of the sea soon, my health has suffered so much from the anxious state I have been in, and the fatigue I have undergone, that I shall be unfit for service. The severe gales which immediately followed the day of victory

ruined our prospect of prizes; our own infirm ships could scarce keep off the shore; the prizes were left to their fate, and as they were driven very near the port, I ordered them to be destroyed, by burning and sinking, that there might be no risk of their falling again into the hands of the enemy. There has been a great destruction of them, indeed, I hardly know what, but not less than seventeen or eighteen, the total ruin of the combined fleet. To alleviate the miseries of the wounded, as much as in my power, I sent a flag to the Marquis Solano, to offer him his wounded. Nothing can exceed the gratitude expressed by him, for this act of humanity; all this part of Spain is in an uproar of praise and thankfulness to the English. Solano sent me a present of a cask of wine, and we have a free intercourse with the shore. Judge of the footing we are on, when I tell you, he offered me his hospitals, and pledged the Spanish honour for the care and cure of our wounded men. Our officers and men, who were wrecked in some of the prize ships, were received like divinities; all the country was on the beach to receive them; the priests and women distributing wine, and bread, and fruit amongst them; the soldiers turned out of their barracks to make lodging for them, whilst their allies, the French, were left to shift for themselves, with a guard over them to prevent their doing mischief. After the battle, I shifted my flag to the Euryalus frigate, that I might the better distribute my orders; and when the ships were destroyed, and the squadron in safety, I came here, my own ship being totally disabled; she lost her last mast in the gale. All the northern boys, and Graydon, are alive; Kennicott has a dangerous wound in his shoulder; Thompson wounded in the arm, and, just at the conclusion of the action, his leg was broke by a splinter; little Charles is unhurt, but we have lost a good many youngsters. For myself, I am in so forlorn a state, my servants killed, my luggage, what is left, is on board the Sovereign, and Clavell* wounded. I have appointed Sir Peter Parker's grandson,† and Captain Thomas, my old lieutenant, post-captains; Clavell, and the first lieu-

* Captain John Clavell, then first lieutenant of the Royal Sovereign.

† The late lamented Sir Peter Parker, Bart. who fell in the Chesapeake, in 1814, when Captain of the Menelaus, leading his men against the Americans.

tenant of the Victory, made commanders; but I hope the admiralty will do more for them, for in the history of our navy, there is no instance of a victory so complete and so great. The ships that escaped into Cadiz are wrecks; and they have neither stores or inclination to refit them. I shall now go, as soon as I get a sufficient squadron equipped, and see what I can do with the Carthagenians; if I can get at them, the naval war will be finished in this country. Prize-money I shall get little or none for this business, for though the loss of the enemy may be estimated at near four millions, it is most of it gone to the bottom. Don Argemoso, who was formerly captain of the Isedro, commanded the Monarca, one of our captures; he sent to inform me he was in the Leviathan, and I immediately ordered, for our old acquaintance sake, his liberty on parole. All the Spaniards speak of us in terms of adoration; and Villeneuve, whom I had in the frigate with me, acknowledges that they cannot contend with us at sea. I do not know what will be thought of it in England, but the effect here is highly advantageous to the British name. Kind remembrances to all my friends; I dare say your neighbour, Mr. ———, will be delighted with the history of the battle; if he had been in it, it would have animated him more than all his daughter's chemistry; it would have new strung his nerves, and made him young again. God bless you, my dear sir, may you ever be happy; it is very long since I heard from home. I am, ever, your most truly affectionate,

CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD.

I have ordered all the boys to be discharged into this ship; another such fight will season them pretty well. Brown is in perfect health. We had forty-seven killed, ninety-four wounded.

The Donegal, Captain P. Malcolm, was lying in Gibraltar Mole, refitting, when the enemy put to sea, but she sailed on the 22d, and worked through the Straits, in a gale of wind, with her fore-yard, for a part of the time, towing alongside; on the 23d, she fell in with the Victory and Temeraire, both of them, of course, disabled, the gale continually blowing, with a heavy sea. At day-

light, in the morning of the 24th, Captain Malcolm bore up to assist a hulk, and sent some men on board of her; after which he ran down to another. This last was lying at anchor off the shoals of San Lucar, and had Spanish colours flying. On a shot being fired at her, she hauled down her colours and surrendered. The Donegal came to an anchor alongside of her, and sending an officer to take possession, found it was the Rayo, of one hundred guns, which had sailed the second time with Gravina, as stated in Admiral Collingwood's letter of the 28th of October, so that the unfortunate Spanish Admiral had better have remained in port; but if it be true that Gravina had lost his arm, it is not probable that he was on board the Prince of Asturias on this occasion. At this time Rotta Point bore S. E. distant fourteen miles, and Point Regla E. by S. distant nine miles. In the course of that and the following day, the Donegal received on board four hundred and ninety Spanish prisoners. One of the hulks, being on fire, blew up; the weather at this time was very tempestuous. The Rayo drove, but brought up again. The Donegal reefed her courses, ready for any accident, and endeavoured to bend the sheet cable, but the sea ran too high to open the hause-holes. Four hulks now lay at anchor on the coast, in sight of the Donegal. At one o'clock, on the 25th, the Rayo drove from her anchors, but brought up five miles farther in shore. On the 26th, the weather became more moderate; all the hulks had the signal of distress

flying. On Sunday, the 27th, the Royal Sovereign anchored near the Donegal, in seventeen fathoms water, having lost all her masts and bowsprit. The Mars anchored also, with the loss of bowsprit, foremast, and topmasts. The Euryalus, to windward, with Vice-admiral Collingwood's flag flying; ten sail of the line in company. The Melpomene anchored near the Donegal; when the latter hoisted out all the boats, and sent them to take the officers and crew out of the Argonauta, a Spanish prize, which had been taken possession of by the Defiance. On Monday, the 28th, it blew strong again, when at ten o'clock in the morning, the Rayo drove again from her anchors, and went on shore seven or eight miles N. N. W. of San Lucar, where the ship was totally lost, and numbers of Spaniards, with some of the English officers and crew, perished in her. The sequel, of the services of the Donegal, may be found in the Gibraltar Chronicle of the 9th of November, 1805; and if it be more honourable to save than to destroy, Captain Malcolm had his full share of the glory of the battle of Trafalgar.

Extract from the Gibraltar Chronicle, Nov. 9, 1805.

All the Spanish prisoners who have been brought to this place, to the amount of upwards of three thousand, have been sent to Spain, except one wounded officer, now in the hospital, who earnestly requested to remain under the care of the English surgeons till his wound was cured. We have also the pleasure to learn, that the Spaniards, since their return to Spain, have universally expressed the liveliest sense of gratitude for the generosity and humanity they experienced whilst they were our pri-

soners, on board the different ships; where it seemed to be the duty of the conquerors to make them forget their misfortunes: Indeed our navy well deserves this tribute of applause from their enemies; upwards of a hundred of our gallant seamen perished in the gale of wind after the action (Trafalgar), in their generous efforts to save the prisoners out of the different prizes. To record the numerous and singular exertions that were made on this occasion, by all the ships of the fleet, would far exceed the limits prescribed to us, we cannot however pass over in silence the heroic conduct of Captain Malcolm, and his ship's company in the Donegal, who at the imminent hazard of being totally lost, rescued hundreds of the enemy from a watery grave. During the violence of the gale, when she was riding at anchor near the Berwick, then in possession of the English, some of the French prisoners on board, in a fit of frenzy, cut the cables of the Berwick, by which means she immediately drove towards the rocks of San Lucar, then to leeward, where there was hardly a chance of a man being saved. In this situation Captain Malcolm, without hesitation, ordered the cables of the Donegal to be cut, and stood after the Berwick, with orders for the boats first to save all the wounded Frenchmen, before they brought away the English, which was punctually obeyed; the English were next removed, but before the boats could return, the Berwick struck upon the shoals, and every soul on board perished, to the number of three hundred Frenchmen. The wounded seamen who were thus saved were supplied with cots and bedding which had been prepared for our own sick and wounded, and after being treated with every kindness and mark of attention, they were sent on shore into Cadiz with a flag of truce, with the cots and bedding in which they had been placed, that they might suffer as little pain and inconvenience in their removal as possible.

The other instance we shall notice is as follows: On the 26th of October, while the Donegal was at anchor off Cadiz, in a violent gale of wind, with upwards of six hundred prisoners then on deck, an unfortunate Spaniard fell overboard; notwithstanding the sea was then running so high that they had not ventured a boat out for twelve hours before, two seamen of the Donegal jumped overboard, in hopes of saving his life, to the admiration of the Spaniards, who were lost in astonishment at so daring an act. The poor man, however, sunk, and was drowned, just as

one of the English seamen, Joseph Thompson, was about to lay hold of him. A boat was immediately hoisted out, and fortunately the two gallant fellows were got safe on board.* We are happy to find, that the uncommon exertions which we are all witness to of Captain Malcolm and his gallant crew, to get his ship ready for sea on their receiving intelligence of the enemy's fleet having left Cadiz, has not been entirely unrewarded. The Donegal, it will be recollected, sailed from this, on the 22d, having her foreyard towing alongside, and with great difficulty passed the Straits that night, every other vessel that attempted it being forced to return. On the following day, they had the good fortune to capture El Rayo, of one hundred guns, which had lost her mainmast, and was at anchor near Cadiz. The Spaniards did not attempt to fire, as the Donegal was brought to anchor in so advantageous a position across her bow, that any resistance on the part of El Rayo, in her crippled state, would have been unavailing, and a wanton sacrifice of lives, without a chance of success. The Donegal afterward, during the storm, repeatedly examined the whole coast, between Lagos-bay and Cadiz, to assist any vessel she might find in distress; and besides the number of lives she has saved, she was fortunate enough to bring in the Bahama, one of the finest line-of-battle ships in the Spanish navy, which she discovered near San Lucar, deserted.

The lives of many other of the unfortunate people in the prizes could not be saved by all the seamanship and generous exertions of our countrymen. The loss of the Santissima Trinidad, was not to be prevented, driving down upon the coast that had been fatal to the others. The officers of the Prince and the Neptune, by the most persevering efforts, had nearly got all the wounded men out

* "Suppose he is a Spaniard—no reason the poor —— should be drowned," was the observation of a British sailor of the Donegal, as he dashed overboard, in a gale of wind, to save his unfortunate enemy.

of her, by lowering them down in cots from the stern and quarter-gallery windows. We trust and hope that none of these unfortunate people were left behind, but a doubt seems to exist. Night came on—the swell ran high—*three* lower-deck ports on each side were open, and in a few minutes the tremendous ruins of the largest ship in the world were buried in the deep. The waves passed over her, she gave a lurch, and went down.

On the 30th, two French frigates and a brig came out of Cadiz, as cartels, to receive the wounded prisoners.

On the same day, Rear-admiral Louis, who had been detached to the eastward, with convoy, previously to the action, joined the Commander-in-chief. The ships that came with him were the Canopus (flag), Spencer, Tigrè, and Queen; these ships, with the Donegal, stood in towards Cadiz, when the Queen fired a broadside into one of the enemy's dismasted line-of-battle ships, which had anchored at the entrance of Cadiz harbour; the fire was not returned.

On the 31st, the Donegal and Leviathan were closer in-shore, near Cadiz, when the former received her cutter from San Lucar, bringing on board Lieutenant Grenville, four midshipmen, and eight seamen, from the wreck of the Rayo; Lieutenant Firneyhough, of the marines, Mr. Ellis, the carpenter of the Donegal, Mr. Bell, midshipman, seventeen seamen, and two marines, with a vast number of Spaniards, were drowned in the wreck.

After contemplating the fate of the Rayo, and the Trinidad, who is there that will not rejoice to learn, that the Santa Anna, of one hundred and twelve guns, with the wounded Admiral Alava, and his unfortunate crew, arrived safe in Cadiz? That ship was completely in the possession of the British officers and men, from the Royal Sovereign; but finding it impossible to keep the sea, they consented to run the ship into Cadiz, on condition that they should be considered at liberty to return to their ship; this offer was thankfully accepted, and the generosity of the Spaniards to their brave and skilful deliverers knew no bounds.

Alava, though defeated and taken, was not dishonoured, until he declined delivering himself up as a prisoner to Vice-admiral Collingwood, agreeably to his parole of honour. Alava had been severely wounded, and his dissolution was considered so near that he sent a message to Lord Collingwood, with his sword, in token of submission, requesting to be allowed to die in peace on board the Santa Anna. The request was readily granted, but when Collingwood heard of his safe arrival in port, and that he was rapidly recovering, he sent him the following letter:—

Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 30, 1805.

SIR,

It is with great pleasure I have heard that the wound which you received in the action is in a hopeful way of recovery, and that your country may still have the benefit of your services. But, sir, you surrendered yourself to me, and it was in consideration only of the state of your wound that you were not re-

moved into my ship: I could not disturb the repose of a man supposed to be in his last moments; but your sword, the emblem of your service, *was delivered to me* by your captain, and I expect, that you consider yourself a prisoner of war, until you shall be regularly exchanged by cartel.

Alava did not reply to this letter in the true spirit of Spanish chivalry, but lost the esteem of the great Collingwood, by denying that the sword was his own, alleging that it belonged to an inferior officer! Better to have died at Trafalgar than have been guilty of such an unworthy subterfuge.

When the ships lay in Gibraltar mole, after the action, Captain (now Sir Benjamin) Hallowell, of the Tigrè, heard of the distress of the captain of the French ship Intrépide,* which having been sunk, the officers and crew lost all their clothes, and other little property. Captain Hallowell immediately collected some articles of wearing apparel to a considerable amount, and sent them to Captain Infernet, with the following letter:—

Tigrè, Gibraltar-bay, Nov. 14, 1805.

SIR,

I heard last night from Captain Codrington, that you had been so unfortunate as to lose every thing belonging to you when L'Intrépide was destroyed; I have therefore taken the liberty of sending you a small box with a few articles of apparel, and a bed, which I hope you will find of service on your passage to England; and to prevent your being put to any inconvenience on your first arrival in an English port, for want of money, I have inclosed a draft on my agent for 100*l.* which I must request you will do me the honour to accept, as I assure you it

* See p. 219.

is only a small return for the civilities I received from Admiral Gantheaume and the officers under his command, when I was captured in the Swiftsure.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
BEN. HALLOWELL.

Captain Infernet, late of L'Intrépide.

This generous supply was conveyed to the hands of Captain Infernet,* then on board the Temeraire, by the Honourable Robert Spencer, a midshipman of the Tigre, and now a captain in his Majesty's navy. It was never acknowledged, nor was any answer returned to the letter, but in 1814, when Sir Benjamin Hallowell was left in the command on the Mediterranean station, Captain Infernet wrote to him to know to whom he should pay the hundred pounds! The Rear-admiral never answered his letter.

The Victory reached Gibraltar on the 28th of October,† and in one week she was made capable of undertaking a voyage to England. She sailed on the 4th of November, in company with the Belleisle; joined Admiral Collingwood on the 5th, off Cadiz, and parted company the same day for England, having on board the precious remains of the lamented chief. The body was preserved in brandy and spirits of wine.

The ship did not reach Spithead till the following month: on the 11th of December she sailed for the Nore, carrying round the body of Nelson;

* An inventory of the articles sent is now in the possession of the author.

† From Clerk and M'Arthur.

which having been taken out of the spirits, was rolled in bandages from head to foot, and then laid in a leaden coffin filled with brandy, holding a strong solution of camphor and myrrh. The body was afterward, on being removed from the Victory, apparelled in a uniform dress of the late Admiral, and laid in the coffin presented to its occupier seven years before, by Captain Hallowell; this was placed in another coffin, very richly ornamented, and on the 22d of December, the body was conveyed in a yacht to Greenwich, where it lay in state for three days, after which it was taken to the admiralty; and, on the 9th of January, 1806, was interred in St. Paul's, at the public expense. It was conveyed to the consecrated spot in a triumphal car, constructed for the purpose, the front representing the head of the Victory, the hinder part the stern; the coffin was exposed to view at the sides; a canopy, with plumes of ostrich feathers, surmounted the car. The Prince of Wales (his present gracious Majesty), with all the princes of the blood royal, attended the funeral; nearly ten thousand troops lined the streets with arms reversed; resting their heads on the butts of their pieces. With the royal family followed the nobility, members of both houses of parliament, military and naval officers, forty-eight seamen and marines of the Victory, and the Admiral's barge's crew.

A monument in St. Paul's cathedral was voted by parliament to the memory of this illustrious offi-

cer, and a similar honour was paid to him by the corporate bodies of Portsmouth, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many other towns in Great Britain.

At the meeting of parliament on the 21st of January, 1806, the speech from the lords commissioners, who represented his Majesty, was chiefly a eulogium on the late victory.

"The pursuit and attack of the different squadrons of the enemy (said the Lord Chancellor), and every encounter, has terminated to the honour of the British flag, and the diminution of the naval force of the powers with whom his Majesty is at war; but the victory obtained over the combined fleets of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar, has manifested beyond any exploit recorded even in the annals of the British navy, the skill and enterprise of his Majesty's officers and seamen; and the destruction of so large a proportion of the naval strength of the enemy, has not only confirmed in the most signal manner the maritime superiority of this country, but has essentially contributed to the security of his Majesty's dominions."

Vice-admiral Collingwood, for his services was created Baron Collingwood of Caldburn and Hethpool in the county of Northumberland, with a pension of 2,000*l.* per annum, and at his death 1,000*l.* a year to Lady Collingwood, and 500*l.* a year to each of his two daughters, should they survive him.

On the 28th of January, Lord Hawkesbury moved the thanks of the house of lords to Lord Collingwood, the Earl of Northesk, the captains, officers,

seamen, and marines, for their conduct in the battle of Trafalgar, on which occasion Lord Hawkesbury paid an appropriate compliment to the memory of Lord Nelson.

The Duke of Norfolk wished the resolutions to include the thanks of the house to Sir Robert Calder, but this was opposed by the Earl of St. Vincent; nor indeed could any thing have been more disrespectful to the court-martial, which had recently pronounced its judgment on the conduct of that gallant officer. The lords also voted their thanks to Rear-admiral Sir Richard J. Strachan, and his officers and crews, for their conduct on the 4th of November; and on the same day, the thanks to all the above officers and men were voted by the commons.

The blockade of Cadiz still continued; fresh ships were sent out to relieve those disabled in the action; and the British fleet, after the most decisive and bloody engagement ever fought, remained in complete command of the ocean, from one extremity of the world to the other.

The misfortunes of the French fleet did not end with the battle of Trafalgar, from which it will be remembered that Dumanoir escaped with four sail of the line, standing to the southward, until he was lost sight of by our fleet. Why he did not run through the Straits and go to Toulon is not known; perhaps he feared to encounter the squadron of Rear-admiral Louis, which he knew had gone to the eastward. Dumanoir hauled away to the west-

ward, and then northward towards Cape Finisterre, hoping, no doubt, to reach Ferrol or Vigo, to land his wounded men, and repair his damages; but off Ferrol he was intercepted, and brought to action in a very masterly style, by one of our keenest and most experienced cruisers.

Sir Richard Strachan, then captain of the Cæsar, had the command of a squadron of five sail of the line and four frigates, off Ferrol and in the bay of Biscay, for the interception of the Rochefort squadron. A set of ships of that name haunted the seas during the early part of the war, and though their depredations were numerous, they had never been seen by any of our fleets or squadrons. On the evening of the 2d of November, the Phœnix, commanded by Captain T. Baker, having been chased by Dumanoir, made known to Sir Richard Strachan that the enemy was near; and from that moment Sir Richard scarcely lost sight of them, but kept up an unwearied pursuit, which ended in an action and a complete victory.

The conduct of Sir Richard, and his squadron, speaks for itself. The frigates behaved admirably, and were highly instrumental in the glorious result of the day, by keeping sight of the enemy during two nights of the chase, and by opening a fire on them, which naturally retarded their motions, by creating alarm and confusion, obliging them to deviate from the point of their course, to return the fire, and shewing to the British ships of the line astern their exact position.

By some unfortunate accident, in the night of the 3d, the Bellona missed the squadron, and never afterward joined them. This was a severe mortification to Captain Pater, who was a zealous and a gallant officer.

The commencement of the day of the 4th November is copied from the log of the Æolus.

"Monday, Nov. 4.—At daylight the enemy's squadron, consisting of four two-decked ships, about five miles ahead. At half-past nine, the Santa Margaretta and Phœnix occasionally firing on the enemy, who returned their stern chase guns, hoisting French colours with a rear-admiral's flag. At noon, moderate weather, the wind S. E. one of the ships astern, I suppose to be the Revolutionaire, the other coming up fast (the Namur).

"Course, N. 30 E. distance one hundred and fifteen miles, lat. obs. 46° 25′ N. long. 6° 18′ W. The Rochebonnes, S. 87° E. distant fifty-eight leagues. At quarter-past twelve, the Cæsar opened her fire on the ship bearing the admiral's flag, the Hero and Courageux likewise commenced on the two ships astern of the admiral, which was immediately returned; at half-past twelve, the headmost ship, in luffing up to get the Cæsar between two fires, came round; the Cæsar observing this luffed and passed her close to windward, the other ships tacked to support her. At quarter before one (the Æolus) stood across the headmost ship and opened our fire on her, and getting nearly becalmed under her lee, remained in that situation some time; the

Phœnix and Æolus keeping up a constant and heavy fire on her, and their whole line, as we passed; receiving their fire in return. The Revolutionaire now came up and followed us; the Cæsar, Hero, and Courageux, about this time having got round, and the Namur, who had just joined, recommenced, and the action became general. At half-past one, the Æolus tacked, and made sail up, and continued, with the Revolutionaire and Phœnix, under the stern of one of the line of battle ships, separate from the rest, with the loss of her mizenmast, and fore-topmast, and receiving her stern chase guns, till about three, when, her mainmast falling, she struck, and was taken possession of by the Revolutionaire. The Admiral's ship struck nearly about the same time, having lost her mainmast. (Æolus) made sail up to the other ships, which were still in action with the Cæsar and Hero; both struck before we reached them; all their lower masts (with the exception of one ship's foremast) going over the side nearly at the same moment; hove to, and sent a boat with an officer to take possession of the Mont Blanc, which struck to the Cæsar; employed during the night receiving prisoners; sent one watch of the ship's company on board of her."

On taking possession of these ships, it was immediately ascertained, that they were a part of the combined fleet at Trafalgar; and when we reflect that they must have had a very considerable share in that battle, and that, consequently,

the spirits of both the officers and men were severely depressed by the events which they had so recently witnessed, we shall allow Admiral Dumanoir, and his captains, full credit for their gallant defence. The British squadron consisted of four sail of the line, well appointed; one of them, the Cæsar, an eighty-four gun ship, besides four good frigates, whose active assistance has been noticed.

With all these allowances in favour of the French, the action was exceedingly admired for its neatness, for the vigilance and seamanship of the Commodore, and his brave associates; and to crown the deed, with the people on shore, all the four prizes were brought safely into port.

Sir Richard Strachan, two days before his despatches reached the admiralty, had been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and the captains who served with him, subsequently received marks of royal approbation.

We conclude this chapter (as usual) with the public letter and official returns.

Cæsar, west of Rochefort, 264 miles;
Nov. 4, 1805, wind S. E.

SIR,

Being off Ferrol, working to the westward, with the wind westerly, on the evening of the 2d, we observed a frigate in the N. W. making signals; made all sail to join her before night, and followed by the ships named in the margin,* we came up with her at eleven at night; and at the moment she joined us, we saw six large ships near us. We were delighted. I de-

* Cæsar, Hero, Courageux, and Namur. Bellona, Æolus, Santa Margaretta, far to leeward in the south-east.

sired him to tell the captains of the ships of the line astern to follow me, as I meant to engage them directly; and immediately bore away in the Cæsar for the purpose, making all the signals I could, to indicate our movements to our ships; the moon enabled us to see the enemy bear away in a line abreast, closely formed; but we lost sight of them when it set, and I was obliged to reduce our sails, the Hero, Courageux, and Æolus, being the only ships we could see. We continued steering to the E. N. E. all night, and in the morning observed the Santa Margaretta near us; at nine we discovered the enemy, of four sail of the line, in the N. E. under all sail. We had also every thing set, and came up with them fast; in the evening, we observed three sail astern; and the Phœnix spoke me at night. I found that active officer, Captain Baker, had delivered my orders, and I sent him on to assist the Santa Margaretta in leading us up to the enemy. At daylight we were near them, and the Santa Margaretta had begun in a very gallant manner to fire upon their rear, and was soon joined by the Phœnix.

A little before noon, the French, finding an action unavoidable, began to take in their small sails, and form in a line, bearing on the starboard tack; we did the same, and I communicated my intention by hailing to the captains, "That I should attack the centre and rear," and at noon began the battle; in a short time the van ship of the enemy tacked, which almost directly made the action close and general; the Namur joined soon after we tacked, which we did as soon as we could get the ships round, and I directed her by signal, to engage the van; at half-past three the action ceased, the enemy having fought to admiration, and not surrendering till their ships were unmanageable. I have returned thanks to the captains of the ships of the line and the frigates, and they speak in high terms of approbation of their respective officers and ships' companies. If any thing could add to the good opinion I had already formed of the officers and crew of the Cæsar, it is their gallant conduct in this day's battle. The enemy have suffered much, but our ships not more than is to be expected on these occasions. You may judge of my surprise, Sir, when I found the ships we had taken were not the Rochefort squadron, but from Cadiz.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. J. STRACHAN.

Hon. W. Cornwallis, Admiral of the white,
and Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c.

First Line.—Starboard Tack.

British Line.

Ships.	*Guns.*
Cæsar	80
Hero	74
Courageux	74

French Line.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Du Guay Trouin	74	Captain Toufflet
Formidable	80	Rear-admiral Dumanoir
Mont Blanc	74	Captain Villegris
Scipion	74	——— Barouger.

Second Line, when the Namur joined.—Larboard Tack.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Hero	74	Hon. A. H. Gardner	10	51
Namur	74	L. W. Halsted	4	8
Cæsar	80	Sir R. J. Strachan	4	25
Courageux	74	Richard Lee	1	13
British Frigates.				
Santa Margaretta	32	William Rathbone	1	1
Revolutionaire	38	H. Hotham	2	6
Phœnix	36	T. Baker	2	4
Æolus	32	Lord Wm. Fitz-Roy.	0	3
		Total	24	111

French Ships.

Formidable	80	Rear-adm. Dumanoir.	
Mont Blanc	74	63	96
Scipion	74	111 killed and wounded.	
Du Guay Trouin	74		

The number of killed and wounded in the other ships was not known.

CHAP. XV.

North America.—Action between Cleopatra and Ville de Milan—Capture and recapture of the Cleopatra, and capture of the Milan by the Leander—Lieutenant Pigot, of the Cambrian, enters the river St. Mary's, and takes merchantmen.

West Indies.—Action between Curieux and Dame Ernouf—Action between Renard and General Ernouf—Capture of the Blanche by a French squadron—Capture of two of that squadron by the Goliath.

Cape of Good Hope.—Second reduction of that colony by the British forces, under the command of Captain Sir Home Popham and Major-general Sir David Baird.

THE events in North America, since the renewal of the war in 1803, had been very unimportant, and afforded nothing particularly interesting until the month of February, 1805, when Rear-admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. commanded on the Halifax station.

Captain Sir Robert Laurie, in the Cleopatra, a frigate of thirty-two guns, twelve pounders, was cruising to the southward and westward of the Bermudas, on the 16th of February, in lat. 28° N., and long. 67° W., when he fell in with a French frigate, and as such it became his duty to chase her, whatever might have been the disparity of force. To use the sea phrase, they were both ships of one deck, and though Captain Laurie saw that his enemy had fifteen ports of a side, it made no difference in his determination. The Cleopatra

made every sail in chase, and the French frigate as much to get away. Squalls of wind and a heavy sea carried away the studding-booms and yards during the night: in this condition the British frigate continued the chase, and at daylight, on the morning of the 17th, the enemy was about four miles ahead. The swell still continued, with a fresh breeze, and at half-past ten, the enemy took in his studding-sails, and prepared for battle, hauling more to the wind: the Cleopatra, when within three-quarters of a mile of her opponent, took in her studding-sails also, and steered for his quarter. Both ships having their colours flying, the action began by the bow chase guns of the British frigate, which were returned by those of the stern from the enemy. Nothing was done till half-past twelve, when the French frigate luffing close to the wind, gave the Cleopatra two broadsides, which were returned at the distance of one hundred yards, and a close and severe action lasted till five o'clock; when the enemy's main-topsail-yard was shot away, and the Cleopatra forged ahead so fast as to render it necessary to shorten sail, but this she was unable to do more than to back the mizen-topsail. Her clew-garnets, braces, and bowlines being shot away, Captain Laurie could not haul up his courses or square his main-yard; in this difficulty he thought it best to haul to the wind, across the bow of his adversary, in preference to being raked by exposing the stern to a broadside. At the important moment a shot struck

the wheel of the Cleopatra and rendered it immovable, while at the same time the rudder was choked below by the splinters and pistols placed near it, in the gun-room. The French Captain instantly perceiving the embarrassment of his enemy, who was to leeward of him, put his helm up, and ran on board the Cleopatra, passing his bowsprit over her quarter-deck, just abaft the main rigging, attempting to board under a heavy fire of musketry and musketoons, but was driven back. The advantage, however, which they had gained, they determined to keep. The enemy, from superior height, commanded the decks of the Cleopatra, and from her tops, well filled with musketry, she poured down a destructive fire: the Cleopatra could only oppose two guns, the shot from which went no higher than the enemy's lower deck; and the sea running high, the momentary concussions of the heavy French ship, built for a seventy-four, threatened to sink the little Cleopatra under her. Still Sir Robert Laurie and his brave companions were unsubdued, and they attempted to hoist the fore-topmast-staysail to get clear of her; the spritsail was also ordered to be set at the same time, but every man sent on this service was knocked down by the musketry of the enemy, who, at a quarter past five, succeeded in boarding, and took possession of the well-defended Cleopatra. The frigate which made this conquest was called La Ville de Milan, mounting forty-six guns, eighteen pounders, manned with three hun-

dred and fifty men, besides officers and passengers; she was commanded by Monsieur Reynard, capitain de vaisseau, who was killed in the action, and succeeded by Monsieur Gillet, capitain de frigate, who was severely wounded. The moment the Cleopatra had surrendered, her mast fell, leaving her with only her mizenmast and bowsprit standing, and Sir Robert Laurie fully expected her to founder, before she could be got clear of the Ville de Milan. It would not be easy for the most skilful officer to say, how more could have been done to defend his Majesty's ship. The Milan was nearly double the force of her enemy in every respect; she was twelve hundred tons, the Cleopatra little more than seven hundred; she had near four hundred men, the Cleopatra not two hundred; her metal, French eighteens, the Cleopatra, English twelves; yet with these mighty odds against her she fought near five hours, and was taken with honour. The loss on board the Cleopatra was twenty-two killed, including two who died immediately after the action, and thirty-six wounded, being more than one-fourth of her complement.

This, it must be owned, was a hard-earned prize for the Milan, and we have been more than usually minute, because the defence offers a fine specimen of British valour and skill. We will not presumptuously say, that the Cleopatra would have subdued an enemy so much her superior, if the accident had not happened to her tiller; but we will say, that a better action was never fought, and that

when the British frigate at last surrendered, she was scarcely worth taking into port. The valour of Captain Laurie soon had its reward, by causing both the prize and her conqueror to fall an easy prey to a very gallant and very fortunate officer.

Captain John Talbot, of the Leander, on the 23d of the same month, fell in with the Cleopatra under jury-masts, and soon after saw the Milan also under jury-masts. As the Leander came up with the small frigate, the other closed to support her, but soon after separated; one going before the wind, the other keeping it on her larboard quarter. The Cleopatra struck, on the Leander firing a shot over her. It was very soon discovered by Captain Talbot what ship he had taken; and finding that there were Englishmen enough on board to secure her, he lost no time in going after the Milan, desiring the Cleopatra to follow him. One hour's chase brought him alongside of the enemy, who, incapable of resistance, instantly surrendered, without firing or receiving a shot. This frigate was from Martinique, bound to France with despatches, and the officers declared, that they did every thing in their power to avoid an action with the Cleopatra. Sir Robert Laurie, though no longer captain of the ship, took charge of the Cleopatra, by desire of Captain Talbot, and the three ships proceeded to Bermuda, whence, on the 7th of March, Captain Talbot dates his letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell.

Sir Robert Laurie, when tried by a court-mar-

tial for the loss of his ship, was most honourably acquitted, and appointed to the command of the Ville de Milan, which was purchased into the service.

Captain (now Sir John P.) Beresford commanded the Cambrian, a noble frigate, on the same station; cruising to the southward, he captured a schooner, the command of which he gave to Mr. Pigot, one of his lieutenants. This young officer proceeded off the mouth of the river St. Mary, in which he had obtained information that some enemy's vessels lay at anchor. On the 7th of July he ran twelve miles up a narrow river, and got within gun-shot of a ship, a brig, and a schooner, lying moored across the stream. After an hour's fighting he took them all; then turning his guns on the militia, who had come, to the number of one hundred men, with a field piece, he routed them; and though wounded in two places, he never quitted the deck for three weeks, except to have his wounds dressed. Two of his men were killed, and fourteen wounded. The ship was called the Golden Grove, and the brig the Ceres of London, taken by the schooner, which was a Spanish privateer of six guns and seventy men. The ship was armed with eight six pounders, six swivels, and fifty men. The Spaniards had thirty killed, among whom were five Americans, and twenty-two wounded. This was a most gallant and daring enterprise, and concludes our active operations on the North American coast for the year 1805.

Previously to the arrival of Lord Nelson in the West Indies, two very fine actions were fought by the British cruisers; one to windward, the other to leeward, or on the Jamaica station.

The first in order of time was that between the Curieux, a brig of sixteen guns, and one hundred men, and the Dame Ernouf, of sixteen guns, and one hundred and twenty men. The British vessel was commanded by Captain George E. Byron Bettesworth, a youth whose professional talents, and career of glory, were too transcendent to promise the attainment of old age. The action was fought about twenty leagues to windward of Barbadoes. The Curieux sustained the fire of the enemy, from the time of coming within point blank shot, until she ranged up close to her weather quarter, when she opened her fire in return, and both vessels fought with obstinacy for forty minutes. The enemy having got on the weather quarter of the Curieux, Captain Bettesworth dexterously putting his helm a starboard, caught the enemy's jib-boom between the foremast and the aftermost fore-shroud of the Curieux, and kept him in that position until, with great guns and musketry, he had completely cleared his decks, when the vessels separated, and the Frenchman surrendered. In giving the details of an action like this, we regret that such an officer as Captain Bettesworth should not have lived to command a British ship of the line.

Captain Bettesworth was himself wounded,

with three of his men. Mr. Maddox, the purser, and four seamen, were killed. The enemy had the incredible number of thirty killed and forty wounded.

In writing on this subject to the admiralty, Commodore Sir Samuel Hood says, "Indeed I want words to express the gallantry and spirit of this officer (Captain Bettesworth), who so lately received three wounds in capturing the vessel he now commands, has again a severe wound by a musket-ball in his head, and I trust will merit the notice of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, as an emulative and persevering young officer, who has gained every step by his zeal and courage."

It was a curious coincidence that while the Dame Ernouf was thus nobly defended to windward, the General Ernouf, about the same time, was still more unfortunate to leeward. On the 20th of March, Captain Coghlan, of the Renard sloop of war, of eighteen guns, on the Jamaica station, fell in with the General Ernouf privateer, of nearly the same force in number of guns, but having one hundred and sixty men; about double the complement of the Renard. The Frenchman waited the attack, and Captain Coghlan very soon brought him to close action, by running down and placing his vessel within pistol-shot on the weather bow of his enemy. After engaging him thirty minutes, the Frenchman took fire and blew up, and the British seamen instantly flew to the rescue of the unfortunate survivors floating on the wreck; of these they saved about fifty. The loss on board of the

Renard was only nine men wounded. Captain Coghlan is the same officer who, in 1800, cut out the Cerbere, from the harbour of Port Louis, with such peculiar gallantry as to merit and receive a sword from the hand of the Earl of St. Vincent, his commander-in-chief.

On the 8th of October, Captain George Tobin, in the Princess Charlotte, captured the Cyane, formerly in his Majesty's service, a ship-sloop, mounting twenty, six pounders, and six, twelve pound carronades. This vessel, and the Naiad, a corvette of sixteen guns, were just from Martinique, victualled and stored for three months, and bound on a cruise; the Naiad was taken a week after by Captain W. B. Champain, in the Circe, of thirty-two guns.

In the month of July, Captain Zachary Mudge, of his Majesty's ship the Blanche, of thirty-six guns, fell in with a squadron of the enemy's vessels, consisting of La Topaze, of thirty-eight guns, and four hundred and ten men, La Departement des Landes, twenty guns, nine pounders, and two hundred and thirty-six men, La Torche, eighteen guns, corvette, and two hundred and thirteen men, and La Faune, sixteen guns, and one hundred and twenty-three men. The force and number of men are taken from Captain Mudge's official letter, except that he calls the Topaze a forty-four, to which we have no objection, if it be also admitted that the Blanche mounted forty-two guns; certain it is, however, that the force opposed to

the British ship was about three to one against her. To escape by sailing, Captain Mudge thought was impossible, and therefore made every disposition for action, which began at eleven o'clock, and lasted about forty-five minutes; the frigates, close alongside of each other, two of the brigs astern, and the corvette on her starboard quarter. The Blanche thus surrounded was very soon disabled, her standing and running rigging cut to pieces, her foremast, with ten shot in it, was expected to fall, seven of her guns dismounted, and her crew reduced to one hundred and ninety men. Thus situated, the Captain and officers of the Blanche considered farther resistance unavailing, and at noon the colours were struck. She had eight men killed, and thirteen wounded. At six o'clock, when the Blanche was reported to be sinking, the French very wisely set her on fire. As Captain Mudge, his officers, and crew, were honourably acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial, we have no reason to doubt that every thing was done which could be effected for the preservation of the ship, and that the British flag lost no honour on the occasion. Had Captain Mudge made all sail *from* the enemy, as soon as he discovered their superiority, it is probable they would not all have got into action at the same time; or that, being cruisers in search of our merchantmen, they would not have continued the pursuit of a ship of war, naturally supposing she would lead them in sight of others, or by obstinate resistance

disable them, and occasion their unseasonable return to port. If, therefore, this much-injured officer had declined fighting, instead of boldly meeting his enemies, he might have escaped capture, and the unmerited censure of a contemporary writer, by whom he has been cruelly treated.

In the month of August following, two of those vessels, the Torche and the Faune, were taken by Captain Barton, in the Goliath of seventy-four guns, off Cape Finisterre. They had many of the Blanche's crew on board.

In the fall of the year 1805, an expedition was planned against the Cape of Good Hope, which at the peace of Amiens had been delivered up to the Dutch. A squadron, under the command of Captain Sir Home Popham, sailed from England, having a body of troops on board, under the command of Major-general Sir David Baird. Putting into St. Salvador for water and refreshment, in November, they sailed on the 26th of that month; on the 3d of January, 1806, they made the Table land; and on the 4th anchored to the westward of Robben Island, which lies at the entrance of Table-bay.

On the 5th, at three o'clock in the morning, the troops were in the boats, and prepared to land, but the surf ran so high as to prevent their approaching the shore. The capture of a colony, having been once related, affords little variety of incident to attract notice in its detailed operations on a second invasion; the same valour, the same skill and seamanship, were displayed on this occa-

sion as when it was taken by Sir George Elphinstone, Sir James Craig, and Sir Alured Clarke.

A detachment of troops was sent round to Saldanha-bay, under the command of Brigadier-general Beresford, escorted by the Diomede. On the morning of the 6th, the Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments, effected a landing in Lospard's-bay, under the command of Brigadier-general Ferguson. The surf ran with tremendous violence, and the loss of one boat, with thirty-five men, of the 93d regiment, although a severe misfortune, was trifling to what might have been expected. The fire of the enemy's sharp-shooters, from the heights, was perfectly harmless. With the active assistance and co-operation of the navy, the troops, to the number of four thousand men, consisting of the 24th, 59th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, completed their landing on the 7th, with two howitzers, and six light field pieces, and moved on towards the Cape Town. Ascending the Blue Mountains they discovered the enemy drawn up in two lines, and prepared to receive them; they had about five thousand troops, with some cavalry, and twenty-three pieces of cannon, yoked to horses. This formidable array was almost instantly borne down by the impetuosity of our troops, headed by Brigadier-general Ferguson; the charge of our infantry was irresistible, and the enemy fled with precipitation, losing in the action about seven hundred men. Our army, with all its valour, would have been deplorably situated, but for the exertions of

Sir Home Popham, and Captain Byng (now Lord Torrington), who commanded the marine brigade; by these officers their supplies were forwarded in defiance of every obstacle of surf, burning sands, and privation of water. The battering train not having landed, the army took a position on the Salt river to wait its coming up; and while in this situation, a flag of truce from the enemy announced a desire to capitulate. The loss of our army was fifteen killed, and about one hundred and ninety wounded. The detachment sent to Saldanha-bay did not arrive in time to share in the battle.

Captain Hugh Downman, whose services in the Mediterranean have been mentioned, landed at the head of the bay, on the 6th, with the marines of the squadron, and two field-pieces, to await the arrival of Sir David Baird. The field-pieces and howitzers were landed by the boats of the Belliqueux and Raisonable. The Diadem, Leda, and Encounter gun-brig, covered the landing by an admirably well conducted fire of their great guns. Captain William Butterfield commanded the transports, and the Captains Cameron, Christopher, and Moring, of the Honourable Company's ships, Duchess of Gordon, Sir William Pulteney, and Comet, shared the dangers and the honours of the landing. Thus the Cape of Good Hope became again a British colony, and has so continued ever since. The despatches announcing the conquest were brought to England by Captain Downman, and were received at the admiralty on the 27th of February, 1806.

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN THOMAS DUCKWORTH.

Engraved by Turner, from a Picture by Sir Wm. Beechey. R.A

FOR CAPTN BRENTON'S NAVAL HISTORY.

London, Published April 1, 1823, by M.r Turner, 56, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square.

CHAP. XVI.

Desperate effort of Napoleon in the West Indies with the Rochefort squadron—Keats and the Superb—Sir John Duckworth sails for and arrives off Cadiz—Hears of the Rochefort squadron, and goes in pursuit of it—List of ships which accompanied him—He falls in with it, chases, and is compelled to quit, and rejoin his own ships—Sends home despatches—Orders the Powerful to the East Indies, and steers for Barbadoes—Arrives there—Goes to St. Kitt's—Joins Sir A. Cochrane and hears of the enemy—Activity and zeal of Captain N. D. Cochrane—Sir J. Duckworth goes in pursuit and falls in with the enemy—Battle of St. Domingo—Capture of three ships of the line—Destruction of two others—Letter of Sir J. Duckworth—Official returns—Remarks—Rewards to the officers—Conclusion.

ALTHOUGH the important victory obtained at Trafalgar had destroyed for a time the naval power of our enemies, France still possessed a few ships, with which, like a desperate gambler, Napoleon was resolved to make one more hazard; if he succeeded he had so much gain, if he failed he could not be in a worse condition on the ocean than he was at the end of November, 1805. There was a tide of victory flowing in upon our happy shores, and a good fortune attending our naval operations, which called forth, in an extraordinary degree, the national gratitude to Providence, while it stimulated every class of our fellow-subjects in the active performance of their duty.

It will be remembered that, on the 18th of Au-

gust, the Superb, after having shared the cruises of Nelson, off Toulon, from the beginning of the war to his return from the West Indies, accompanied the hero to Spithead, where Captain (now Admiral Sir R. G.) Keats was ordered to refit his ship, with all possible speed, and to rejoin Lord Nelson off Cadiz, as soon as her repairs were completed. It was late in the year before she was ready, although no means were neglected to accelerate her equipment. The Rochefort squadron, that constant torment of our ministers and our commerce, was again at sea, and with its usual good fortune seemed to bid defiance to the most diligent search of its pursuers.

The Superb sailed from Portsmouth, and on her way down Channel, called at Plymouth, where the Royal George had been preparing for the flag of Sir John Duckworth, who was to join Lord Nelson off Cadiz; but the ship not being ready, Captain Keats was directed to receive the Vice-admiral's flag, and proceed with him to his destination; and under these orders the Superb sailed alone, from Plymouth sound, on the 2d of November, four days before the account of the battle of Trafalgar reached London. On the 15th she arrived off Cadiz. Lord Collingwood was then refitting his ships at Gibraltar, and Sir John Duckworth took upon him the command of the few ships he found off Cadiz, and continued to cruise there until the 1st of December, when the Lark sloop of war brought him information, that the

Rochefort squadron had recently fallen in with, and dispersed or taken, a small convoy, off the Salvages, a cluster of rocks between Madeira and Teneriffe. The Vice-admiral taking with him the Superb, as his flag-ship; Canopus,* eighty guns, Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis; Spencer,† seventy-four guns, Honourable R. Stopford; Donegal,† seventy-four guns, Pulteney Malcolm; Powerful, seventy-four guns, R. Plampin; and Agamemnon, sixty-four guns, Sir Edward Berry; Acasta, R. D. Dunn, and Amethyst, frigates; quitted the coast of Spain and ran for Madeira; made and communicated with that island on the 5th, with Teneriffe on the 15th; made the Cape de Verds, and continued till the 25th in those latitudes, looking for the enemy; when, at daybreak, in latitude 30° 45′ N. and longitude 19° 48′ W. six sail of the line, and two frigates, were seen in the E. S. E. directly to windward, and on the larboard tack, the tops of their hulls just seen on the horizon from the decks of our ships. The signal for a general chase was immediately made, but the enemy had the advantage of the breeze, while our squadron was nearly becalmed, and increased their distance. The chase continued with unremitting perseverance, till twenty minutes past one, P. M. on the 26th, the British squadron losing and gaining sight of them occasionally, and the Superb still keeping the lead. The enemy now attempted a

* Detached previously to the battle of Trafalgar, with convoy.
† Fitting at Gibraltar at that time.

ruse de guerre: during the night, when their ships of the line were out of sight from ours, they sent a frigate to leeward, to make signals in an opposite direction to that in which they were running, but Sir John Duckworth and his Captain knowing how to reason on such conduct, continued the chase, and gained rapidly on them. Unfortunately none of the British ships sailed as well as the Superb, which had got within five miles of the enemy, when the Spencer and Amethyst were as many astern of her, the Agamemnon nearly hull down, and only one other ship in sight from the mast-head. Under these circumstances, the Admiral felt it his duty to give up the chase, and to collect his squadron, which he fortunately effected about five o'clock. The computed distance between the Superb, and the sternmost ship of her squadron, in this chase, was about forty-five miles, by meridian observation. Sir John Duckworth remained a short time in the situation where the enemy was first discovered, after which he despatched the Amethyst to England, and the Powerful to the East Indies, to reinforce the squadron in that part of the world; and having done this, he steered with all the sail he could carry for Barbadoes, where he arrived on the 12th of January, 1806; looked into Martinique on the 16th, and arrived at St. Kitt's on the 20th. Here he was joined by Sir Alexander Cochrane, in the Northumberland, of seventy-four guns, and Captain Pym, in the Atlas, of seventy-four guns: the water was immediately

completed; and never, indeed, was celerity more required, or more successfully applied. The enemy, after having eluded the pursuit of Sir John Duckworth, had also gone for the West Indies. A Danish schooner had arrived at St. Thomas's, and the master stated, that he saw them steering for the city of St. Domingo. The Scotch house of King and Company, at St. Thomas's, with very laudable zeal, instantly forwarded the important intelligence to Tortola, where it fortunately reached Captain Nathaniel Dey Cochrane, of his Majesty's sloop the Kingsfisher, whose vessel was at the time in all the confusion of a refit; this made no difference to the youthful Captain, who in *ten minutes* was under sail. He left Tortola at eleven at night, and was so much favoured by the wind, which suddenly, and contrary to the usual course, changed from east to west, that he reached Antigua in thirty hours. Here Captain Cochrane learnt that Sir J. Duckworth was at St. Kitt's; and did we not know the facts, and the honour of the gallant young officer, we should be almost afraid to state, that the wind now as suddenly changed again to east, in favour of the Kingsfisher. Young Cochrane immediately made all sail for St. Kitt's, where he found the Vice-admiral, and was, the happy means, by his vigilance and good fortune, of leading the way to another brilliant victory. Sir John Duckworth sailed immediately for the island of St. Domingo; and at daylight, in the morning of the 6th of February, the city of St.

Domingo was discovered, and the enemy at an anchor. Their force was five sail of the line and two frigates; they had one ship of one hundred and twenty guns, and two of eighty-four guns. Our squadron consisted of seven sail of the line, viz. six of seventy-four guns, and one of sixty-four guns, two frigates, and a brig. A recollection of the battle of the Nile, no doubt, determined the French Admiral to weigh, and if he should be unable to effect his retreat without fighting, to give battle under sail.

The action was begun by the Superb (at the head of the weather division) closing on the weather bow of the Alexandre, then leading the French line before the wind, and engaging her till the French ship sheered off; and the Vice-admiral, closely supported by the Rear-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, and the Captains Stopford and Sir Edward Berry, who with their respective ships composed the weather line, boldly laid the Superb alongside the Imperial, of one hundred and twenty guns. Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis, in the Canopus, with the Donegal and Atlas, nobly seconded this spirited attack; and, soon after ten o'clock, the action became general. Captain Malcolm, after giving his passing broadsides to two of the French ships, ran on board of the Jupiter, receiving her bowsprit over the Donegal's larboard quarter, where she was immediately secured. For two hours the battle raged with great fury. The English fought with skill, the effect of long practice,

united to their usual valour; the French had valour but not equal seamanship. The fire from the French first-rate was well kept up; the main and mizen masts of the Northumberland were shot away as she lay alongside the Imperial, but the Superb, Canopus, Atlas, and Agamemnon, were still engaged with that ship and the Diomede. At noon, the action, which was one of the most splendid for the numbers engaged, had entirely terminated, with the loss or capture of all the enemy's ships of the line; their frigates escaped. The public letter of the Admiral explains some particulars which we have therefore not mentioned; although, in detailing his proceedings, he has not distinctly stated where, and at what time, he received the intelligence, which induced him to steer from St. Kitt's to St. Domingo: this we have shewn was from Captain Cochrane, whom Sir John Duckworth, after the action, thus addressed on board the Superb, "I thank you, Sir, in this public manner, on the quarter-deck, for your having brought us to the French squadron, and enabled us to gain this glorious victory; and I shall despatch you home in consequence."

The following is a copy of the public despatch of the Vice-admiral, which reached the admiralty on the 24th of March, 1806; brought home by Captain N. D. Cochrane, in the Kingsfisher, who was most deservedly made Post, for his incomparable diligence and good fortune.

Superb, to leeward of the town of St. Domingo about twelve leagues, Feb. 7, 1806.

SIR,

As I feel it highly momentous for his Majesty's service, that the lords commissioners of the admiralty should have the earliest information of the movements of the squadron under my command, and as I have no other vessel than the Kingsfisher, that I feel justified in despatching, I hope neither their lordships, or Vice-admiral Lord Collingwood, will deem me defective in my duty towards them or his lordship, by addressing you on the happy event of yesterday; and as you will receive my letter of the 3d instant herewith, I shall only say, I lost not a moment in getting through the Mena passage; and on the 5th, in the afternoon, was joined by the Magicienne, with a farther corroboration, from various vessels spoken, of the enemy's force, of ten sail of the line, with as many frigates and corvettes, being in these seas. I therefore continued under easy sail for the night, in my approach off the town of St. Domingo; having given orders to Captain Dunn of the Acasta, to make sail with the Magicienne, Captain M'Kenzie, two hours before daylight to reconnoitre; when at six o'clock, the Acasta, to our great joy, made the signal for two of the enemy's frigates, and before seven, for nine sail at an anchor; at half-past, that they were getting under way. The squadron under my command, then in close order with all sail set, and the Superb bearing my flag, leading, and approaching fast, so as to discover, before eight o'clock, that the enemy were in compact line, under all sail, going before the wind, for Cape Nisao, to windward of Ocoa-bay. As they consisted of only five sail of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, I concluded they were endeavouring to form a junction with their remaining force. I shaped my course so as to render such intention abortive, which was completely effected by a little after nine, so as to make an action certain; I therefore telegraphed the squadron, that the principal object of attack would be the Admiral and his seconds, and at three-quarters past nine, for the ships to take station for their mutual support, and engage the enemy as they got up, and a few minutes after, to engage as close as possible; when, at a short period after ten, the Superb closed upon the bow of the Alexandre, the leading ship, and commenced the action, but after three broadsides she sheered

off. The signal was now made for closer action, and we were enabled to attack the Admiral in the Imperial (formerly the Vengeur), the fire of which had been heavy on the Northumberland, bearing the Honourable Rear-admiral Cochrane's flag. By this time, the movements of the Alexandre had thrown her among the lee division, which Rear-admiral Louis happily availed himself of, and the action became general, and continued with great severity till half-past eleven, when the French Admiral, much shattered, and completely beat, hauled directly to the land; and not being a mile off, at twenty minutes before noon, ran on shore, his foremast then only standing fell immediately; at which time the Superb, then only in seventeen fathoms water, was forced to haul off to avoid the same evil; and not long after, the Diomede, of eighty-four guns, pushed on shore near her Admiral, when all her masts went; and I think it a duty I owe to my character and my country to add (from the information of Sir Edward Berry), after she had struck, and the Agamemnon desisted from firing into her, from the Captain taking off his hat and making every token of surrender, and Captain Dunn assures me, both ensign and pendant were down; to comment on which I leave to the world. About fifty minutes after eleven, the firing ceased; and upon the smoke clearing away, I found Le Brave, bearing a commodore's pendant, the Alexandre, and Le Jupiter, in our possession.

The Vice-admiral pays very just compliments to the Rear-admirals, Cochrane and Louis, and to all the Captains of his squadron, particularly to Captain Keats, whose ship, the Superb, bore the flag on that day. The number of killed and wounded in the British ships were as follow: viz.

Weather Division.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Superb	74	R. G. Keats	6	56
Northumberland	74	Rear-adm. the Hon. Sir A. Cochrane	21	79
Spencer	74	Hon. R. Stopford	18	50
Agamemnon	64	Sir Edward Berry	1	13

Lee Division.

				Killed.	*Wounded.*
Canopus	80	Rear-adm. Sir T. Louis		8	22
Donegal	74	Pulteney Malcolm		12	33
Atlas	74	Samuel Pym		8	11
			Total	74	264

As soon as the prisoners and the wounded men could be removed from the Imperial and the Diomede, the ships were set on fire by Captain Dunn and burnt. This service was the more difficult to perform in the midst of a high surf, in which the boats were exposed to imminent danger of being upset.

The imputation cast by Sir John Duckworth on Captain Henry, of the Diomede, for having run his ship on shore, after he had surrendered, appeared to have been founded in error, and was honourably and satisfactorily explained by the Vice-admiral in a subsequent letter, dated Port-Royal, February 16. It appeared, that when Captain Henry presented his sword to Captain Keats, the latter officer, on account of the reports of Sir Edward Berry and Captain Dunn, indignantly refused it. This excited the keenest sensation in the breast of Captain Henry, who demanded an explanation from the Commander-in-chief. Upon referring to his officers and ship's company, and from other concurring testimony, it was proved, that the ensign was shot away, and that the pendant was flying until the mainmast fell; and consequently that Captain Henry had defended his ship as became a man of

honour, and did not surrender until she was on shore.

The French squadron consisted of the following ships, which are here named, in the order they occupied in the line :—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed and Wounded.*
L'Alexandre	84	Captain Garreau	300
L'Imperial	120	Rear-adm. Le Siegle Captain Pigot	not known.
Le Diomede	84	Captain Henry	not known.
Jupiter	74	Captain Laignel	about 200
Le Brave	74	Captain Condé	about 200

La Felicité, frigate, escaped.
La Cornette, do. do.
La Diligence, corvette, do.

This squadron had sailed from Rochefort early in the year.

After the action, Sir Alexander Cochrane, with the Northumberland and Agamemnon, returned to Barbadoes. The Admiral then sent the rest of the squadron, and the prizes, to Jamaica, and soon after followed them in the Superb. The prizes, being in some degree repaired, were sent to England, under the charge of Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis, in the Canopus, with the Spencer and Donegal. The Brave foundered on her passage home, but the crew were saved.

Sir John Duckworth still continued his flag on board the Superb, and having completed her repairs at Port-Royal, he took the Acasta with him, and proceeded to the coast of Spain, which he had quitted on the 1st of December, and to which he

returned triumphant; joining Lord Collingwood, off Cadiz, on the 29th of April, after an absence of five months, during which he had certainly made the best use of his time. Lord Collingwood, who took no rest himself, but was always mindful of the repose of others, ordered Duckworth to England. He arrived in Cawsand-bay, on the 13th of May, when the Superb again became a private ship, and her indefatigable Captain joined the Channel fleet, off Ushant, under the command of the Earl of St. Vincent.

The Vice-admiral, the two Rear-admirals, the Captains, officers, and men, received the thanks of both houses of parliament; and Sir John Duckworth was presented by the assembly of Jamaica with a valuable service of plate, in commemoration of the glorious battle of St. Domingo.

Taking into consideration the difference in number of ships, in favour of the British squadron, we might at first say, that the French could not expect to gain the day; but a moment's reflection will convince us of the disproportion between a French three-decked ship and a British seventy-four; so great indeed that two of these could scarcely be a match for one of the first. We have seen the Orient, with two broadsides, nearly blow the Bellerophon out of the water; and the Imperial dismasted and had almost destroyed the Northumberland, and did very great execution against the Superb and Spencer. The French eighty-four gun ships, of which there were two in the action,

are serious opponents to our seventy-fours; as the calibre, and number of men make a difference not to be overlooked. Upon the whole, though the French fought well, we must admit, that our countrymen deserved all the honours and rewards bestowed on them.

With this action, brilliant both in itself and in its consequences, we shall conclude the volume. Had the squadron eluded the vigilance of our admirals, the islands would again have undergone such a visitation as that of Missiessy, in the preceding year. In so small a squadron it is remarkable, that there were three admirals present; but in the action of November, fought by Sir Richard Strachan, four sail of the line took four of the enemy, and one admiral, while no British admiral was present. The battle of St. Domingo rewarded Sir Thomas Louis, and the Captains Keats, Malcolm, and Stopford, for their disappointment at Trafalgar. Medals were given to the admirals and captains, for this and the two preceding actions.

COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF ON FOREIGN STATIONS, FROM THE YEAR 1783 TO THE YEAR 1822.

	East Indies.	Jamaica.	Leeward Isl.	Mediterran.	N. America.	Newfndland.	Cape G. Hope.	Lisbon.	S. America.
1783	Com. Sir R. King.	Rear-adm. Josias Rowley.	Rear-adm. Sir Rd. Hughes.	Sir J. Lindsay, K. B.	Rear-adm. Sir C. Douglas.	Rear-adm. J. Campbell.			
1784	——	Rear-adm. Jas. Gambier.	——	——	——	——			
1785	Com. Mitchell.	Rear-adm. A. Innes.	——	Com. P. Cosby.	Com. H. Sawyer.	——			
1786	None.	Com. A. Gardner.	——	——	——	J. Elliot.			
1787		——	Com. Wm.	——	——	——			
1788		——	Parker.	——	——	M. Milbank.			
1789	Honble. Wm. Cornwallis.	——	——	——	Sir Richard Hughes.	——			
1790	——	Rear-adm. P.	Rear-adm. Sir	J. Peyton.	——	——			
1791	——	Affleck.	J. Laforey.	——	——	——			
1792	——	Com. Ford.	——	Com. S. C. Goodall.	——	Rear-adm. Sir R. King.			
1793	——	——	Rear-adm. A. Gardner.	Visct. Hood.	Com. R. George.	——			
1794	Com. P. Rainier.	——	Vice-adm. Sir J. Jervis.	——	——	Rear-adm. Sir Jas. Wallace.			
1795	——	Rear-adm. Sir H. Parker.	Rear-adm. B. Caldwell.	Vice-adm. Hotham.	Rear-adm. G. Murray.	——	Rear-adm. Sir G. Keith Elphinstone.		
1796	——	——	Sir John Laforey.	Vice-adm. Sir J. Jervis.	——	——		Rear-adm. G. Vandeput.	
1797	——	——	Rear-adm. H. Hervey.	——	——	Vice-ad. Hon. W. Waldegrave.	Rear-adm. Pringle.		
1798	——	——	——	Earl St. Vincent.	Rear-adm. Vandeput.		Sir Hugh C. Christian.		
1799	——	——	Lord Hugh Seymour.	——	——	——	Rear-adm. Sir R. Curtis.		
1800	——	Vice-adm. Ld. H. Seymour.*	Rear-adm. Sir J. Duckworth	Lord Keith.	Sir William Parker.	Vice-adm. Sir C. M. Pole.	——		

* Those marked thus (*) died in the command.

	East Indies.	Jamaica.	Leeward Isl.	Mediterran.	N. America.	Newfndland.	Cape G. Hope.	Lisbon.	S. America.
1801	P. Rainier..	Rear-adm. Sir J. Duckworth.	Rear-adm. Totty.*	Lord Keith.	Sir William Parker.	Vice-adm. Sir C. M. Pole.	Rear-adm. Sir R. Curtis.		
1802	——	——	Com. Sir S.	——	Vice-adm. Sir	Vice-adm.	——		
1803	——	——	Hood.	Vice-adm.	A. Mitchell.	Gambier.	——		
1804	Rear-adm. Sir E. Pellew.	Rear-adm. Dacres.	——	Lord Nelson.	——	Vice-adm. Sir E. Gower.	——		
1805	Sir T. Trowbridge, who was drowned coming home in the Blenheim.	——	Rear-adm. Sir A. Cochrane.	Vice-adm. Collingwood.	——	——	——		Rear-adm. Sir W. Sidney Smith.
1806		——	——	——	Vice-adm. Berkeley.	——	——		——
1807	Sir Ed. Pellew, sole command.	——	——	——	Vice-adm. Sir J. B. Warren.	Vice-adm. Holloway.	——	Vice-adm. Sir C. Cotton.	Rear-adm. Murray.
1808		Vice-adm.	——	——	——	——	Rear-adm.	Vice-adm.	——
1809	† Rear-adm.	Rowley.*	——	——	——	Vice-adm. Sir	Bertie.	Berkeley.	Rear-adm.
1810	Drury.*	——	Rear-adm. Sir	——	Rear-adm.	J. Duckworth	Rear-adm.	——	De Courcy.
1811	Vice-adm. Sir	Vice-adm.	F. Laforey.	Vice-adm. Sir	Sawyer.	——	Stopford.	——	——
1812	S. Hood.*	Stirling.	——	E. Pellew.	Ad. Sir J. Warren & W. Indies	——	Rear-adm. Tyler.	Vice-adm. G. Martin.	Rear-adm. Dixon.
1813	——	Rear-adm.	Rear-adm.	——	Vice-adm. Sir	Vice-adm. Sir	——	——	——
1814	Rear-adm. Burlton.*	Brown.*	Durham.	Rear-adm. Penrose.	A. Cochrane.	R. G. Keats.	——	Rear-adm. Fleming.	——
1815	Rear-adm. Sir Rd. King.	Rear-adm. Douglas.	——	Ad. Lord Exmouth, was only on particular service.	Rear-adm. E. Griffiths.	——	Rear-adm. Sir G. Cockburn.		——
1816	——	——	Rear-adm. Harvey.		Rear-adm. Sir D. Milne, who resigned.	Vice-adm. Pickmore.*	Rear-adm. S.P. Malcolm.		——
1817	——	Rear-adm. Sir	——	Rear-adm.		——	Rear-adm.		——
1818	——	H. Popham.	——	Penrose.		Vice-adm. Sir	Plampin.		——
1819	Rear-adm. Honble. Sir H.	——	Rear-adm. Campbell.*	Vice-adm. Sir T. Freemantle,	Rear-adm. Griffiths.	C. Hamilton.	Rear-adm. Lambert. Bonaparte died		Commodore Sir T. Hardy.
1820	Blackwood.	Rear-adm. Sir C. Rowley.	Rear-adm. Fahie, command	Vice-adm. Sir G. Moore.	——	——	May 5, 1821.		
1821	——	——	united to N.	——	——	——	Commodore		
1822	Comdre. Grant.	——	America.	——	——	——	Nourse.		

† On the death of the flag-officers in India from 1810 to 1814, the command devolved on Captain G. Sayer, of the Leda.

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ERRATA.

Page 32, *for* Superb to recall Thames, *read* Thames to recall Superb.

Page 44, line 23, *for* Sir James Saumarez being created a Baronet, *read* a Knight of the Bath.

Page 49, line 24, *dele* "besides the Hannibal," as that ship did not sail with the enemy's squadron.

Page 225, line last but one, *for* Parmentier, *read* Peytavin.

Page 321, line 22, *for* Clara, *read* Fama—line 23, *for* Fama, *read* Clara.

Dele in every instance the accent on the *e* in the word Tigre.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

1	Lord Collingwood	*to face title page.*
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9 Santa Cruz, at the end of the book. This is presented to the Subscribers in lieu of the bad print of that place, given in most copies of the first volume.

Drawn on Stone by J.D.Harding

From a Drawing by Capt. Brenton

THE MOLE, SANTA CRUZ

Where Nelson lost his Arm

Printed by C. Hullmandel for Brenton's Naval History

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